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ABSTRACT

Intended to help readers develop an appreciation of the contributions of Franco-Americans to the cultural heritage of the United States, this book, the fourth of six volumes, presents 15 chapters representing many perspectives--from the historical to the sociological--illustrating the thinking and feelings of those in the forefront of Franco-American studies. This volume focuses on Franco-Americans in New England. The following readings are presented: "New England French Culture" (Gerard J. Brault); "Public or Parish: A Study of Differences in Acculturation of Franco-American Schoolchildren" (Peter Woolfson); "An Ethnic Survey of Woonsocket, Rhode Island" (Bessie Bloom Wessel); "Franco-American Efforts on Behalf of the French Language in New England" (Herve Lemaire); "Sports and Franco-Americans in Woonsocket, Rhode Island, 1870-1930" (Richard S. Sorrell); "U. S. Journal--Biddefort, Maine: Ou se trouve la plage?" (Calvin Trillin); "Ethnic Stratification in the Community" (Elin Anderson); "Race, Ethnicity and the Achievement Syndrome" (Bernard C. Rosen); "Living Space and the Advancement of the Generations" (W. Lloyd Warner, J. O. Low, Paul S. Lunt, and Leo Srole); "The Socio-Economic Status of the French-Canadians in the United States" (Leon F. Bouvier); "A Genealogical Approach to the Study of French-Canadian Fertility 1650-1950" (Leon F. Bouvier) "Language Usage in the United States: July, 1975" (U. S. Bureau of the Census); "Social and Economic Profile of French and English Mother-Tongue Persons: Maine, 1970" (Madeleine Giguere); "French-Canadian Settlement in Vermont Prior to the Civil War" (Ralph D. Vicero), and "Sentinelle Affair (1924-1929): Religious and Militant 'Survivance' in Woonsocket, Rhode Island" (Richard S. Sorrell). Appendices providing a map, research notes, and an annotated bibliography conclude the document. (LH)

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FRANCO-AMERICAN OVERVIEW

Volume 4

SO 016 728

A FRANCO-AMERICAN OVERVIEW

Volume 4

NEW ENGLAND

(Part Two)

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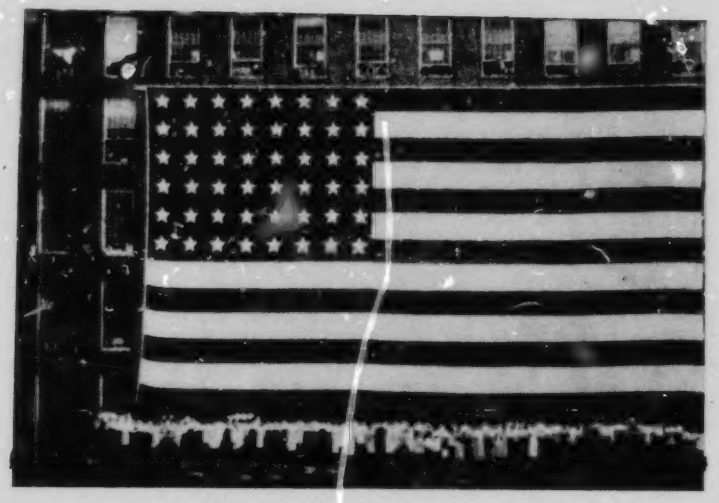

Workers in the Amoskeag MIlls, Manchester, New Hampshire, made this American flag in 1914 and posed with it in front of one of the buildings of what was at the turn of the century the largest textile mill complex in the world. A preponderant number of the persons employed in these mills were French-Canadian immigrants from Quebec and their children. (Photo courtesy of Manchester Historical Ass'n.)

A FRANCO-AMERICAN OVERVIEW

Volume 4

NEW ENGLAND

(Part Two)

Edited by

Madeleine Giguère

Professor of Sociology, University of Southern Maine at Portland-Gorham

Staff Consultant: Robert L. Paris

National Assessment and Dissemination
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PREFACE

This series of volumes, entitled *A FRANCO-AMERICAN OVERVIEW*, is primarily anthological in nature, and is intended for the use of those who wish to find out about or to extend their awareness of *le fait franco-américain* in the United States today. Many of the selections included in this series have been available elsewhere, but several are now out of print or difficult to locate for practical reference. Their compilation and juxtaposition for the first time between the covers of a unique series of volumes dedicated exclusively to the Franco-Americans will serve to enhance, deepen and expand each reader's understanding of this special ethnic group in its many permutations and guises.

Each volume of this *OVERVIEW* series revolves around a general theme or broad area of interest such as the Franco-American population of a definite geographical area of the United States, a specific cultural or linguistic phenomenon, etc. The reading selections and studies chosen for each volume represent many perspectives—from the historical to the sociological—and they illustrate the thinking and the feelings of those who were in the past, or who are now, in the forefront of Franco-American studies.

Volumes 3 and 4, subtitled *NEW ENGLAND*, present a wide array of discussions and research reports on the two major French-speaking populations of the six New England states (Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island), i.e. the Acadians and the French-Canadian immigrants from Quebec. The various selections provide information about these two groups from both past and contemporary points of view, with an emphasis on the *sociological* phenomena of note. Rather than organize an exhaustive study of the subject, the chapters of both Volumes 3 and 4 have been arranged to offer a mosaic of facts and impressions about the Franco-Americans of the northeastern United States.

Recognition is due to the following National Materials Development Center staff who contributed directly to the preparation of these *NEW ENGLAND* volumes: Andrea Thorne and Lori Cochrane for the composition of the texts, Eileen Brady for proofreading assistance, Jeff Spring for art and design, and Julien Olivier for some of his original photography.

– Robert L. Paris
N.M.D.C./ French & Portuguese

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INTRODUCTION

The question of «identity» is one that most people ultimately confront. The answers to «What is an American?» (see Franco-American Overviews*—Vol. I) will vary from individual to individual and from sub-group to sub-group, and so it is for the question «What is a Franco-American?» Each individual, family, or sub-group of Franco-Americans and non-Franco-Americans will fashion their own answer to the question. This volume of* Franco-American Overviews *includes the major ingredients which can be used in making the assessment of what is a Franco-American. Culture, place in the social structure, and demographic characteristics will be combined in different proportions and in different ways by the various persons and groups wrestling with the questions «Who am I?» for the Franco-Americans, and «Who are these people?» for the non-Franco's.*

Part of the answer is the way of life and the system of values, norms and beliefs which give meaning to life and which have been communicated, but also transformed, from generation to generation, from France through Canada to the United States. Every migrant carries with him distinctive ways of believing, thinking, feeling and behaving, and so did the French-Canadian immigrants to the United States. The cultural baggage of the Quebecois and the Acadian can be labeled as French, Catholic and North American. The culture of New France was to a large extent a replica and reflection of that of the mother country, but it was also to some extent different from the old country. Language is an example of these similarities and differences. The substantial recruitment of migrants from coastal France led to a preferred use of nautical terms, e.g., «embarquer» *for* «monter.» *Furthermore the isolation of Canada from metropolitan France tended to keep in use language forms which were discarded in France, e.g.,* «assoyez-vous» *for* «asseyez-vous.» *Also, the physical environment necessitated the creation of new words for the distinctive flora and fauna and a new or more widespread usage of some terms with regard to the pervasive phenomena of the Canadian landscape, such as* «déblayer» *with reference to snow rather than dirt or gravel.*

Similarly when the French-Canadian moved to «les états,» *urban industrial terms became much more salient in his new life than they were in his old. He sometimes adapted a traditional word, such as* «moulin,» *for the textile mills, or gave a French baptism to an English word such as* «le shop» *for shoe shop.*

Language, of course, is just one part of culture; equally important is the value system which gives meaning to life. By the nineteenth century the combination of a common French cultural heritage, the uniform climate and topography of the St. Lawrence

river basin, and the substantial influence of the Catholic Church produced a highly integrated culture which gave meaning to the life of the «habitant» and directed his activities. Behavior patterns with regard to food, clothing, shelter, protection, marrying and having children, relating to the Supreme Being, and associating with kin and non-kin all bore a distinctive cultural stamp. Their culture clearly distinguished the French-Canadian immigrants from the English-Canadian immigrants and from the Anglo-Americans. For the immigrant and his children in the United States, the French-Canadian culture, through the process of cultural assimilation, became the Franco-American culture, rapidly changing in economic and political dimensions but keeping the traditional values and language as well. Part One of Franco-American Overviews*—Volume IV focuses on the cultural dimensions of the question «What is a Franco-American?»*

The migration from French Canada to New England was composed of two classes of persons: an educated elite and a much larger number of individuals without formal education and with few industrial skills. The priests, physicians, journalists found in most if not all Franco-American communities continued to practice their professions in the United States, as did a lesser number of lawyers and merchants. They were well integrated into the Franco-American communities and often served as ethnic leaders alongside the leadership developed in the mutual aid and literary societies.

The bulk of the French-Canadian immigrants became semi-skilled employees in the textile mills, the shoe shops, the pulp and paper mills and other manufacturing enterprises. They thus moved from small family or small-town family enterprises where the production was organized by the father, to a large enterprise directed by unknown and distant persons, supervised by non-kinsmen who usually did not speak their language. The cultural differences accentuated the disjuncture of authority and power levels. Distinctions in power and status between themselves and the earlier settlers were also seen by the Franco-Americans in the community at large. Initially the power impinging upon the French-Canadian immigrants was the police and the local political structure. Later in the history of the French-American communities the differences in power were seen as eminently of an economic nature. This perception of «we» who are employees and «they» who are employers dominating our lives has been a pervasive feature of Franco-American life. This orientation probably has led to limited career aspirations on the part of some Francos. Outside of the ethnic community, the image of the Franco-American solely as a production line worker is still often encountered. In the absence of serious study we can only raise the question of the impact of these two Franco orientations on the education of such French-speaking groups in the areas of their greatest concentrations. National survey data on the French-Canadian descent grouping would indicate but slight differences from the national average in the educational levels of younger adults. This is not the picture historically nor may it necessarily be the situation of the French-Canadians in their traditional U.S. communities. Part Three presents some of the literature on the status dimension of Franco-Americans identity. The references in the Appendix should also be consulted for recent status indicators of the French-Canadian descent grouping as compared to other religio-ethnic groups in the United States.

The field of demography studies the phenomena of size, distribution and characteristics of human populations, and the changes in these via fertility, migration, and mortality. Some data exist for Franco-Americans on most of these subjects and they are represented in Part Four of this volume. All of

these phenomena and processes can be elements in determining the answer to the question «What is a Franco-American?» In turn, the phenomena and processes are affected by the culture of the Franco-Americans and the social environment in which they live in New England. The high fertility of the French-Canadians was clearly a product of their value system and a major cause of the surplus Canadian population which led to the immigration to the United States. On the other hand, it was the social structure of their employment opportunities which shaped the distribution of French Mother-Tongue Population still visible in the 1970 census. Of course fertility values and language values have directly affected the size of the French Mother-Tongue Population and the French Language-Use Population. Furthermore, the values of the French-Canadian immigrants combined with the social environment in which they found themselves have influenced such demographic characteristics as occupation, industry, and education.

What do we do for a living, where we work, what we have for an education, where we live, and how many of us there are, are all elements to be put together in various ways by different groups, sub-groups, and persons answering the question «What is a Franco-American?» It is the purpose of this volume to bring together some of the social science literature useful in making these assessments.

In conclusion, I wish to thank all the persons who answered my request for suggestions for a book of readings on the Franco-Americans, especially T.E. Covel, Yvon Labbe, Irene Simoneau, Alice Stewart, Mason Wade and Peter Woolfson. Finally, I want to thank Normand Dubé and Robert Paris who provided the encouragement necessary for the completion of the book.

– Madeleine Giguère

FRANCO-AMERICAN CULTURE

The French Review *of March, 1972 contained a well-documented and scholarly synthesis of the major aspects of the culture of French-speaking New Englanders. Major values for these French-Canadian immigrants and their descendents, says Brault, are the desire to be left alone and the conviction that the French were called upon by God to preserve the Roman Catholic faith on the North American continent.*

NEW ENGLAND FRENCH CULTURE

by

Gérard J. Brault

There is a growing awareness today of the need to understand and to respect the traditions and values of American ethnic groups. Social scientists have not only provided much more sophisticated insights into the nature of culture itself but have also shed considerable light on the enduring aspect of pluralism in America. Language teachers are learning, too, that cross-cultural comparisons can be a most effective means of imparting the feel of a foreign idiom to their students. In setting forth particulars about Franco-American culture, our purpose here is to describe in some detail certain attitudes and values of the more than a million persons of French-Canadian descent residing in New England but also to suggest lines of inquiry which could prove useful in approaching French culture in all its diversity.

Understanding a people involves consideration of its achievements and of its group behavior, but also of how it views its rôle in history.[1] America, for instance, has at times been analyzed in terms of the Frontier: the push to the West in the nineteenth century, the Pacific, then, with Kennedy and the New Frontier, the conquest of space.

Another metaphor has already intrigued Americans when they have sought to define their national purpose.[2] The concept of a Chosen People stems, of course, from the Bible which tells how God sought to repair the consequences of the Fall of Man and to restore His Kingdom in the world through the instrument of Israel. The Puritans who settled in New England in the seventeenth century were a deeply religious people and their patterns of thought and style of living were profoundly influenced by the notion that they were a Chosen People. Like the Jews of the Old Testament, God had singled them out for a special civilizing and religious mission. Their writings are full of allusions to the Exodus across the Red Sea, to Life in the Wilderness, to the Promised Land and to related concepts; their law was referred to as the covenant; and they gave their settlements Biblical names like Salem and Providence. The idea of being a Chosen People recurs repeatedly throughout our nation's history, combined with the Calvinist notion of predestination in the early years, with the idea that we were selected by God to bring about world regeneration as early as the 1760's, and with the concept of Manifest Destiny first used as a slogan in 1845 but dating back to the early 1800's. Countless Fourth of July orators and nearly every President of the United States since Lincoln has reiterated the view that we are a nation chosen by God to serve as an example for the rest of mankind.

The French did not come to the New World as political or religious refugees, but as traders, farmers, and *coureurs de bois*. The American Colonies began as a theocracy, great power being exercised over the people

by ministers. As the Colonies developed, the authority of the British crown was increasingly recognized but strong traditions of self-government and local autonomy culminated in complete independence in 1776.

In Canada, however, no corresponding democratic institutions emerged during the Ancien Régime or for a long time afterward. The system was a feudal one, *seigneurs* being granted large tracts of land along the St. Lawrence (there were 100 in 1759) and each parcel being subdivided into *lots*.[3] Land was farmed by *habitants* who turned over a certain percentage of their crops to the *siegneur* in whom all authority was vested. After the Treaty of Paris, the *seigneuries* were reorganized into parishes and, in the following century, while their neighbors to the South looked increasingly to the Frontier, French-Canadians turned more and more inwardly. Americans developed the notion of never having lost a war; Canadians brooded about having lost the only one which really mattered.

Concomitant with growing insularity, another notion developed in French Canada which, interestingly enough, we have mentioned earlier in connection with the United States. Professor Jean Falardeau of Laval University has written that one of the most fundamental aspects of French-Canadian culture is the feeling of being a Chosen People called upon to fulfill a sacred mission, namely to preserve Catholicism in America.[4] Canadians have sent forth an extraordinary number of missionaries to the four corners of the earth and, until recently, their society was structured along parish lines. One of the most vivid recollections of my childhood in Massachusetts is of one of my parochial school sisters informing her class that just as the Lord chose Israel as His people, we Franco-Americans had received a divine call. That sacred mission was to keep the true faith in New England. It was many years before I sorted out some of these things in my mind—orthodox doctrine vs. folk beliefs, religious faith vs. ethnic values—but I don't think I shall ever forget that breathless moment when I learned that I was one of the Chosen People.

Thus far we have described two characteristics of French-Canadian culture, first and foremost a desire to be left alone, to go one's own way, to carry one's burden of defeat and abandonment by the mother country in defiant pride, but also an abiding messianicism, a strongly-felt conviction that one is called to preserve the Catholic Faith on this continent. These values and attitudes constituted an important part of the psychological make-up of French-Canadians emigrating to New England. Two myths also conditioned their outlook.

In the second half of the nineteenth century the notion arose in Canada—and it is a belief still shared by many today—that the early *habitants («nos aïeux»)* were devout, hard-working farmers with large families, toiling in peace and harmony, and benevolently watched over by wise old parish priests.[5] This sentimental myth of a Golden Age has its parallel, of course, in the image that many Americans have about life in Early America, an ideal reinforced by visits to Colonial Williamsburg or Old Sturbridge Village. But for Canadians the image has religious rather than democratic associations and the notion of patriotism in each country is significantly affected by this coloration. A recent study seeks to debunk the notion of a Golden Age in Canada by showing that parish priests of the day constantly inveighed against their flock for being a stubborn, hard-hearted breed, given to merrymaking, wenching and other debaucheries, especially in the cities.[6] The article will no doubt make little impression on those who prefer to dream of halcyon days.

A related myth was also elaborated in the nineteenth century, this time by the clergy, *la vocation de la terre*, the idea that Canadians were destined by God to be farmers.[7] Any mass defection in this regard was considered to be something more than betrayal. Consequently, when Canadians began to leave the countryside in droves to answer the call of the milltowns of New England, this agrarian myth and the dim perception of a lost idyll constituted a not-negligible burden to add to their other ethical and religious concerns.

Social scientists have amply demonstrated that people readily assign superior or inferior ranks to other individuals according to a consistent hierarchy of status. Thus it has become customary to refer to upper, middle, and lower classes of American society and, at times, to subdivisions such as upper-middle class and lower-middle class.[8] In an excellent study of a traditional French-Canadian community, Professor Horace Miner has described that society in terms of a circle, the greatest prestige (A) being accorded to the *curé* and his relatives, and to the local senator and his family, all of whom, unlike virtually everyone else in the parish, have important contacts outside the immediate area.[9] B represents all the owners of farms, while C includes all the non-farmers (bankers, day-workers, artisans of various types, etc.) with prestige according to their wealth. So far as urban Canadian society is concerned. Falardeau has observed that whereas at the turn of the century a status gap existed between the clergy, professional men, politicians and public figures on the one hand, and merchants, businessmen and workers on the other, today well-to-do merchants are more typically associated with professional people. Also, a new class made up of engineers, pharmacists, architects, etc. is rising rapidly in social prestige.[10]

The United States was heterogeneous from the outset but so overwhelmingly white, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant until about the middle of the nineteenth century that we cannot truly speak of ethnic groups until then. However, in the thirty-year period between 1825 and 1855 alone, over 5 million immigrants arrived in America—mostly Roman Catholics from Ireland and Western Germany—and the descendants of the earlier colonists became acutely aware that these foreigners did not share in their traditions or social outlook.

French-Canadians began arriving in New England before the Civil War but the major influx occurred between 1880 and 1914 during the era of greatest European immigration. In 1900, French-Canadians constituted 45% of the labor force in New England textile mills. We have mentioned some of the reasons why these newcomers were suspect: religion, language, strange customs and dress. So far as the French-Canadians are concerned, it should be added that considerable enmity was also generated because they were being recruited by the trainload to force down wages and even, at times, to break strikes.

Einar Haugen has written that one of the greatest shocks an immigrant experiences on arrival in America is to learn that he *is* an immigrant, that is, different in many ways from most other people.[11] What were some of the differences perceived by French-Canadians settling in New England beyond those which are related to the historical factors we have mentioned above?

The typical American family had evolved a good deal following the Industrial Revolution. Most significantly, it had lost its patriarchal aspect. To work in a factory, the father must leave home every day and his status at work is often very low. Also, a worker's children are frequently able to earn as much and at times even more than he

does. The final blow to paternal authority occurs when children find they can support themselves at a relatively young age thanks to their new earning power. Sociologists tell us that Americans are an achievement-oriented society, the free enterprise system and the Protestant ethos having placed a high premium on individualism, material progress, and upward mobility.

There is a tendency for immigrants from a rural background to maintain their former values and life style in the new environment. French-Canadians settled in ghettos *(les petits Canada)* not only because of their proximity to work and out of economic necessity but also because it was natural for them to settle in parishes resembling those back home.[12]

While serious inroads were made in its cohesiveness and patriarchal character, the Franco-American family, supported in this effort by the teachings of the Catholic Church, managed to retain much of its traditional values. There are, of course, many differences among individual families today, but it is safe to say that Franco-American culture may in part be defined in terms of family solidarity and patriarchality. The more ethnocentred the Franco-American family is and, I believe, the lower its social rank, the greater the chances are that it retains its traditional characteristics which include a high degree of kinship recognition.[13] A low achievement syndrome is hardly implausible under the circumstances, but the only scientific study to my knowledge involving Franco-Americans is based on a very small sample and the findings are inconclusive at best.[14]

Much of what might be said about the evolution of Franco-American culture is not unique to the French-Canadian experience in New England but relates rather to the general history of ethnic groups in America, a story Oscar Handlin, better than anyone else, portrayed in his Pulitzer-Prize-winning book entitled *The Uprooted*.[15] On the other hand, it is also true that much of what today's average Franco-Americans consider to be their own special values are simply those of the American middle class.[16]

Discovering one's ethnic heritage is a different experience for each and every person. One afternoon in 1952, in the city of Reims, I happened to notice an unusual sculpture over a sixteenth-century school doorway. Chiseled in stone, I could see two boys' heads, one smiling, the other sad. I consulted my guidebook, wondering why the masks of Comedy and Tragedy had been carved there of all places. To my great surprise, I read that the faces represented *Jean qui pleure et Jean qui rit*. Now I had always assumed that that was a family expression. It suddenly dawned on me that the locution was not even exclusively a Canadianism but time-honoured French.[17] The experience was Proustian, only the association was centuries old, and I felt indissolubly joined with my French past.

Thus, it may be said that culture is not always something one can measure, compare, or otherwise quantify the way one analyzes minority-group voting patterns or rate of upward mobility. Culture is also a matter of the heart. The amount of ethnic culture one is fortunate enough to have in addition to the valuable heritage of being an American is directly proportional to the knowledge one has of its folkways, its customs, its speech patterns, its wisdom. It's the capacity to recognize these things when one sees, hears, or remembers them. It's the enrichment one *feels*.

Notes

1. For perceptive observations on how the French view their own history, see Laurence Wylie and Armand Bégué in collaboration with Louise Bégué, *Les Français* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1970), 37-49.

2. The French, among others, are no strangers to this notion which for them dates back to Carolingian times; see Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *La Chanson de Roland et la tradition épique des Francs,* tr. I.-M. Cluzel, 2nd ed. (Paris: Picard, 1930), 247-248, 254, 261. However, it was given its widest dissemination in modern times by Michelet.

3. See the *Encyclopedia Canadiana* (Ottawa: The Canadian Company, Ltd., 1960), IX, 267-268, s.v. *Seigniorial Tenure.*

4. Jean C. Falardeau, «Les Canadiens français et leur idéologie» in *Canadian Dualism, Studies of French-English Relations,* ed. Mason Wade (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960), 23-31.

5. M. Tremblay, «Orientations de la pensée sociale» in *Essais sur le Québec contemporain,* ed. Jean C. Falardeau (Quebec: Presses Universitaires Laval, 1953), 197.

6. Jean-Pierre Wallot, «Religion and French-Canadian Mores in the Early Nineteenth Century,» *Canadian Historical Review,* LII, (1971), 51-94.

7. Falardeau, «Les Canadiens français et leur idéologie,» 30.

8. For studies concerning French social class structure, see Gerard J. Brault, «French Culture: Some Recent Anthropological and Sociological Findings,» *FR,* XXXVI (1962), 50-51; see also my forthcoming contribution entitled «French Culture» in the *Reports* of the 1972 Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages.

9. Horace Miner, *St. Denis, A French-Canadian Parish* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939; rpt. 1963), 249-253.

10. Jean C. Falardeau, «The Changing Social Structures» in *Essais sur le Québec contemporain,* 116-118.

11. Joshua A. Fishman, *Language Loyalty in the United States. The Maintenance and Perpetuation of Non-English Mother Tongues by American Ethnic and Religious Groups* (London-The Hague-Paris: Mouton, 1966) [Janua Linguarum, series major, XXI]. Introduction by Einar Haugen, p.9. On the pedagogical aspects of this problem, see Gerard J. Brault, «Some Misconceptions About Teaching American Ethnic Children Their Mother Tongue,» *Modern Language Journal,* XLVIII (1964), 67-71; «Ethnic Values and Language Learning,» forthcoming in the *Bulletin of the Pennsylvania State Modern Language Association.*

12. See Iris Saunders Podea, «Quebec to 'Little Canada': The Coming of the French Canadians to New England in the Nineteenth Century,» *New England Quarterly,* XXIII (1950), 365-380.

13. Philippe Garigue, «The French-Canadian Family» in *Canadian Dualism,* 194.

14. Bernard C. Rosen, «Race, Ethnicity, and the Achievement Syndrome,» *American Sociological Review,* XXIV (1959), 47-60.

15. Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations that Made the American People* (Boston: Barton, Little, Brown, 1951) [Atlantic Monthly Press]; available in paperback, New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1957 [Universal Library].

16. Franco-Americans are no different from any other minority in that a large number do not readily identify with the group, many even developing hostile attitudes toward it in the familiar pattern of ethnic self-hatred.

17. The expression, which is found in many French dictionaries as *pleurer* (e.g., Littré, Robert, and the *Grand Larousse Encyclopédique*), was used in my family when one of the children was crying but could easily be teased into laughing. «Jean qui pleure et qui rit» is also the title of a short poem on the human condition by Voltaire (1772).

Recent field research in the realm of values of Franco-Americans hes been the unique contribution of Peter Woolfson. In the eighth issue of Man in the Northeast *he published the following article dealing with the acculturation of Franco-American schoolchildren, one of his several studies of the Vermont French. The Franco-American children Woolfson studied were future-oriented, they preferred to be self-controlled in times of stress and they preferred parental guidance to permissiveness.*

PUBLIC OR PARISH: A STUDY OF DIFFERENCES IN ACCULTURATION OF FRANCO-AMERICAN SCHOOLCHILDREN

by

Peter Woolfson

INTRODUCTION

In an earlier paper, «Value Orientations of French Canadian and Anglo-American Children in Three Northeastern Vermont Communities» (Woolfson, 1972), differences in cultural outlook based on the Strodtbeck-Kluckhohn value orientation model were explored. The purpose of the following paper is to compare differences in value orientation of Franco-American children in some northeastern Vermont public schools with those in a nearby parochial school.

METHOD OF STUDY

The Sample

The original study was done with three third grade classes in three different northeastern Vermont communities near the Quebec border in the spring of 1972. The study of the parochial school children was done the following fall with the children in grade four—the difference in grade allowing for the start of a new school year. My sample of French Canadian children in the public schools contained thirteen boys and ten girls whose parents were of French Canadian background and who still spoke French, to some extent, at home. The parochial class contained five boys and eleven girls of comparable background. Although the sample of French Canadian children in the parochial class is numerically smaller, they represent a larger percentage of the total sample in the parish class: that is, sixteen out of thirty (53%) as opposed to twenty-three out of sixty-six (35%).

The Questionnaire

The twenty-two item questionnaire employed in the previous study was again used—and the same format followed; an oral presentation of the stories or examples with instructions for marking an *X* in the appropriate triangle, circle, or square to correspond to the pupils' choices.

Findings

The children in the parochial school responded to the testing situation in a manner similar to that of the children in the public schools; that is, they had no difficulties answering the questions; most of them did not need to wait for the signal to mark their choices; and they seemed to enjoy doing the project.

There are a number of areas where there is similarity in orientation selections of the children in the public and parochial school systems. As shown in Table 1 for example, when given the choice between making things—*goal orientation*—and thinking about things—*being orientation*, all the groups show orientations toward goals.

In addition, as shown in Table 2, all groups show orientations favoring parental

guidance and control.

Moreover, in response to Question 12, Table 3, all of the groups show orientational preferences toward planning and preparation.

And, again, we find a similar orientation toward preparation being shown in the response to question 13 (Table 4). There are somewhat more «present» and «ambivalent» orientations among the French Canadian boys in the public school system, but almost half did choose future orientation (46%).

There are also similarities in attitudes toward emotional control and expression, as can be seen in the response to Question 18 (Table 5). They are all strongly oriented to self control.

There are some areas, when one divides the group along sexual lines, where one finds similar responses among the members of one sex, but differences in the responses for the other. For example, as in their answers to Question Three (Table 6) given the choice between independent effort with that of seeking parental advice, both the public school and parochial school boys seemed more responsive to independence.

The percentage of boys in both groups choosing independence is similar—about 60%—although a larger percentage of parish school boys chose parental advice—40% as opposed to 8%, and a large percentage of parish boys were ambivalent—31%. But as seen in Table 7, the difference in responses between the public school girls and the parish school girls is considerably more striking.

The public school girls show much stronger orientations toward independent effort than do the parish school girls—the parish school girls show much greater ambivalence to the question.

On the other hand, when given the choice about planning a party by themselves or having the teacher plan the party in Question 11 (Table 8) the girls appear to have reversed their roles.

The parish school girls are more strongly oriented toward doing the planning themselves rather than relying upon the teacher; the public school girls, on the other hand, are more ambivalent.

In a more important situation as in Question 4 (Table 9), however, the boys and girls appear to reverse their position. The girls of both groups leaned toward the teachers doing the choosing.

On the other hand, as seen in Table 10, the boys' choices are quite different. Here, the parish school boys appear to lean toward doing the choosing themselves whereas the public school boys are much more clearly in favor of letting the teachers make the choices.

Marcel Rioux in his book, *Quebec in Question*, (p. 75) indicates that both independence and passivity are part of the historical inheritance of the French Canadian: for the girls, the conflict appears in social events; for the boys, it appears in political roles.

There are some questions where both the boys and girls of the parish school contrast with their public school counterparts. One of the places where this occurs as shown in Question 6 (Table 11) is in response to the choice between mothers remaining at home or being allowed to go out to work.

Here the results show an interesting about face: both groups of girls are ambivalent, but the parish school girls seem much more receptive to a career for women than their public school counterparts. On the other hand, the parish school boys appear

much more conservative than their public school peers.

The parish school boys do on the whole, appear to be more conservative than their public school counterparts, but as one can see in Table 12, the parish school girls do not.

Here 55% of the parish school girls selected the modern orientation while only 10% of the public school girls did; on the other hand, 60% of the parish school boys chose the traditional orientation while only 39% of the public school boys did.

We find the same kinds of considerations in the response to question 9 (Table 13) in dealing with traditional home remedies or modern medicine; although the parish and public school girls are closer together.

Again, the parish boys seem much more conservative than their public school counterparts; the differences between the parish and public school girls are slight.

CONCLUSIONS

The number of children of similar French Canadian background were limited; thus the results can only appear as suggestive rather than conclusive. This is especially true of the parochial school boys—numbering only five.

At any rate, all of the Franco-American groups showed similarities in their choices on certain questions: that is, they appeared to like to have definite goals, plan before acting, and be prepared. They all preferred parental guidance and control in matters involving discipline. And, they preferred to keep their emotions under control rather than allowing them to be expressed in times of stress.

There were, however, some differences between the responses of the children in the two school systems. Some of those differences could be seen only in terms of sexual dichotomies. On the question of homework, the public school Franco-American girls seemed to be more independent than the parish school Franco-American girls. On the other hand, the parish school girls seemed to approve of planning a party themselves rather than letting the teacher do it for them, while the public school girls were more ambivalent. And yet, when it came to a question of important decision making, the parish school Franco-American boys showed a greater interest in letting the children rather than the teachers decide than did either the public school boys, parish or public school girls. Here, there seems to be male-female difference between politics and social events—both the parish school Franco-American boys and girls showing greater interest in peer group collective action in their respective areas of interest.

In some ways the parish school Franco-American girls appear to be more modern than their public school counterparts; they are more receptive to their mothers having careers and less interested in traditions. On the other hand, the parish school Franco-American boys seem more conservative than their public school counterparts; they are less receptive to career oriented mothers, more receptive to traditions than the public school boys and more willing to accept traditional folk remedies than are the public school boys.

Thus, there appear to be different rates of acculturation reflected in these groups. All of the groups tend to be more conservative than their Anglo-American peers, but on some questions the parish school Franco-American girls, unexpectedly, appear to be more modern than their public school counterparts; on the other hand, the parish

school boys are definitely more traditional than their contemporaries in the public schools. Further studies of social, economic and demographic kinds need to be done to put this apparent aberration in its proper perspective.

TABLE 1: QUESTION 2

Jimmy likes to spend his time making things. He likes to draw pictures, make airplanes, and build kites. He works very hard to get things finished. And when he finishes making something, he likes to hold it up and look at it. If it is an especially good job, he really feels proud and happy. His brother, Bobby, is quite different. He doesn't like to do any of those things. He likes to think about different things, like what it would be like if he could jump a hundred feet into the air or what it would be like if he was only two inches tall.

If you like to make things and get them done, like Jimmy does mark an X in the square. If you like to think about different things like Bobby does, put your X in the triangle. If you don't know, or think either way is fine, put your X in the circle.

	Goal Orientation (square)	Ambivalence (circle)	Being Orientation (triangle)
Parish School Girls	5	4	2
Public School Girls	5	5	0
Parish School Boys	5	0	0
Public School Boys	8	4	1

TABLE 2: QUESTION 7

Some parents are always telling their kids not to do this and not to do that. They believe that this is the only way to make sure that their kids behave themselves. Other parents let their kids do just about what they want to do. Those parents believe that kids will learn to take care of themselves that way.

If you think parents should tell kids not to do things all the time, put an X in the square, if you think parents should let kids do what they want to, put an X in the triangle. If you don't know, or think either way, put an X in the circle.

	Parental Discipline (square)	Ambivalence (circle)	Freedom (triangle)
Parish School Girls	7	4	0
Public School Girls	10	0	0
Parish School Boys	4	1	0
Public School Boys	11	1	1

TABLE 3: QUESTION 12

Billy, when he starts a picture, gets out all his colors and starts to draw things on his paper right away. If it doesn't turn out the way he wants it to, he gets another piece of paper and starts all over again. Mark doesn't do things that way. Mark likes to sit for a minute and think about the kind of picture he would like to draw and the colors he would like to use. He doesn't start his drawing until he's made up his mind about what's the best way to do it.

If you like to start right in like Billy put your X in the square, if you like to think about it first, like Mark put an X in the triangle. If you don't know, or you think either way is fine, put an X in the circle.

	Spontaneity (square)	Ambivalence (circle)	Planning (triangle)
Parish School Girls	0	1	10
Public School Girls	0	0	10
Parish School Boys	0	0	5
Public School Boys	0	2	11

TABLE 4: QUESTION 13

Jimmy always stays out until the last minute when he's playing at bedtime. He says that tomorrow it might rain and he won't be able to play outdoors. Johnny, who lives next door, is different. He likes to go in a little early, so he can get all his things ready for school the next day before he goes to bed.

If you like to play till the last minute like Jimmy, put an X in the square. If you like to go in early and get things ready for tomorrow, like Johnny, put an X in the triangle. If you don't know, or think either way is fine, put an X in the circle.

	Present (square)	Ambivalence (circle)	Future (triangle)
Parish School Girls	2	2	7
Public School Girls	2	0	8
Parish School Boys	0	1	4
Public School Boys	3	4	6

TABLE 5: QUESTION 18

Some kids, when they fall down, start to cry right away, but then they feel better right away too. Other kids, when they fall down, try very hard not to cry so that people will say that they are very brave.

If you think it's all right to cry when you hurt yourself, put an X in the square. If you think you should hold it in, put an X in the triangle. If you don't know, or you think either way is fine, put an X in the circle.

	Emotional Expression (square)	Ambivalence (circle)	Containment (triangle)
Parish School Girls	1	5	5
Public School Girls	0	5	5
Parish School Boys	0	0	5
Public School Boys	3	1	9

TABLE 6: QUESTION 3

Mary has to do a problem in arithmetic. But she is having a lot of trouble adding things up. She works and works and finally she gets the right answer. Jane, too, is having a problem with arithmetic. But as soon as she sees that she is having trouble, she goes and asks her mother or father for help.

If you like to work on arithmetic problems by yourself, like Mary, put an X in the square. If you like to ask your mother or father for help, put your X in the triangle. If you don't know, or if you think either way is fine, put your X in the circle.

	Independence (square)	Ambivalence (circle)	Parental Advice (triangle)
Parish School Boys	3	0	2
Public School Boys	8	4	1

TABLE 7: QUESTION 3

	Independence	Ambivalence	Parental Advice
Parish School Girls	2	7	2
Public School Girls	7	1	2

TABLE 8: QUESTION 11

Suppose your teacher said you could have any kind of Valentine's party that you like. Some kids think that the teacher should plan the party because she'd given lots of parties and knows the best way to do them. Other kids think that all the kids should help to plan the party because everybody is doing it together and that's the way to really have fun.

If you think the teacher should plan the party, put an *X* in the square. If you think the kids should plan it, put your *X* in the triangle. If you don't know, or you think either way is fine, put an *X* in the circle.

	Collectivity	Ambivalence	Lineality
Parish School Girls	7	2	2
Public School Girls	2	5	3

TABLE 9: QUESTION 4

Your school is going to have a very special visitor—like the President of the United States. Everybody thinks that one of the children should make a speech welcoming him to the school. But John thinks that the children themselves should pick the child who is going to make the speech. Barry, however, thinks that the teachers should pick the child who should make the speech.

	Collectivity	Ambivalence	Lineality
Parish School Girls	2	0	9
Public School Girls	1	1	8

TABLE 10: QUESTION 4

	Collectivity	Ambivalence	Lineality
Parish School Boys	3	0	2
Public School Boys	1	0	12

TABLE 11: QUESTION 6

Some kids think that mothers should stay home and take care of their families–do the cooking, cleaning, and washing. That's the most important thing they can do. Other kids think that it doesn't really matter who does the cooking, cleaning, and washing, as long as somebody does them. They think that mothers should be able to go out to work if they can and want to.

If you think mothers should stay home put an *X* in the square, if you think that mothers can go out to work, put an *X* in the triangle. If you don't know put an *X* in the circle.

	Housewife	Ambivalence	Wage Earner
Parish School Girls	0	7	4
Public School Girls	4	4	2
Parish School Boys	4	0	1
Public School Boys	4	1	8

TABLE 12: QUESTION 1

Susie really loves the old things in her grandmother's house. She really likes the old, old clock that sits on top of the fireplace in her grandmother's living room. When Susie dreams about the house she is going to have when she grows up, she likes to dream about having that old, old clock on top of her fireplace in her house. Susie's sister, Vicky, thinks differently. She has no interest at all in any of her grandmother's things. To her, they are just old-fashioned things. When Vicky dreams about the house she is going to have when she grows up, she dreams about having brand new furniture and the latest kind of stove and refrigerator.

What do you think about old things? Do you like them like Susie does, or do you like only new things like Vicky does? If you think like Susie, put your *X* in the square, if you think like Vicky, put your *X* in the triangle, if you don't know or think either way is fine, put your *X* in the circle.

	Traditional (square)	Ambivalence (circle)	Modern (triangle)
Parish School Girls	4	1	6
Public School Girls	5	4	1
Parish School Boys	3	2	0
Public School Boys	5	4	4

TABLE 13: QUESTION 9

Billy thinks his grandmother knows just what to do about a cold. She gives him lots of juice and puts him to bed with lots of blankets. His brother, Peter, doesn't believe that his grandmother really knows anything about what to do for a cold. He says when you have a cold you should go to the doctor and he can give you some pills or medicine that will really help.

If you think Billy's grandmother has the best way to help, put an X in the square. If you think pills or medicines will help put an X in the triangle. If you don't know or think either way will help, put an X in the circle.

	Folk Medicine (square)	Ambivalence (circle)	Modern Medicine (triangle)
Parish School Girls	3	7	1
Public School Girls	2	6	2
Parish School Boys	3	1	1
Public School Boys	1	5	7

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Social science empirical research on descent and intermarriage is the base of Bessie Bloom Wessel's study of the Woonsocket, Rhode Island ethnic groups. The following selection reproduces a relevant portion of Appendix A of that study, first published by Arno Press and the New York Times in 1970. Wessel's Appendix A, technically a bibliography with an introduction, summarizes the findings of her survey with regard to the largest ethnic group in Woonsocket—the Franco's. In retrospect, we note that the outcome of the Sentinelle *question (cf.* Overviews*—Vol. II, as well as «The 'Sentinelle' Revisited» further on in this volume) can be read in the continuing pattern of intermarriage reported on here. But equally as important for the study of Franco-Americans is the question of the formulation of a Franco position on biculturalism and bilingualism. In the following few pages from Wessel we find intertwined the issues of rising «fusion» of the Franco-American with other ethnic groups including the «old Americans,» and a most explicit exposition of the dual-culture position of the French-speaking leadership. Furthermore, in the process of describing the Franco-American phenomena, Wessel acknowledges the contribution of the French Huguenots to the history of Rhode Island, as well as that of the more recent «France French.»*

AN ETHNIC SURVEY OF WOONSOCKET, RHODE ISLAND

by

Bessie Bloom Wessel

INTRODUCTION

It has been persistently obvious from the previous analyses that Woonsocket is unique in the dominant role played by one ethnic group in the racial composition and in the cultural life of the community. Two-thirds of all school children[1] in Woonsocket are of French-Canadian descent. Among the public-school children alone 2,155 or 43.3 per cent of the total number carry some French or French-Canadian blood. The significant position which French Canadians hold in the community, and the results of a special investigation among them, call for further treatment, however brief. [. . .]

BILINGUALISM AND BICULTURALISM

It is in its bilingualism and in its biculturalism that the French-Canadian group is peculiarly distinctive and assertive. The data on language usage as obtained from the case histories of children corroborate the impressions obtained in home visits by Mlle Bossavy, and confirm the theories asserted by leaders in brochures on the subject and in conversation.

French-Canadians even when native born and English speaking assert, with pride, their French-Canadian descent. About 90 per cent of all individuals who are native born can speak both languages; about half claim bilingualism in the home. They assert most emphatically that their tenacity for French culture is not inconsistent with loyalty to America or with full acquaintance with American institutions and the English language. They are French speaking even in the third generation. But they are English speaking, too, and become so in the very first generation. Our previous analysis of language usage indicated that with the exception of the Jews no other group in Woonsocket learns English more readily or uses it more extensively. But they differ from the Jews in one regard: Given time, the Jews drop their ancestral language; the French retain it as the familial and ancestral tongue. With the French the attachment to the French language and to things French amounts to a passion. Devotion to the French language and to French-Canadian ancestry was noted among families when even grandparents were native born. In other families one or more of the grandparents were brought here as babies, or the first member of the family came to the United States sixty, seventy, or even eighty years ago, or «too far back to remember,» and yet «these families frankly and even proudly claim their French-Canadian ancestry, and still use the French language.»[2]

Mlle Bossavy offers three possible causes in explanation of this tenacity for the French language even among Old Americans. She calls attention to the extensive intramarriage between French Canadians of different generations. Numerous marriages occur be-

tween two French-Canadian persons, one of whom is native born and the other foreign born. This was noted in our own investigations, but she finds evidence of the same procedure among grandparents and even among great grandparents. Second, frequent migration back and forth to Canada keeps the contacts and the language alive. Third, internal migration in the United States from one community to another where there are centers of French-Canadian life serves to perpetuate ancestral traditions.

«The West, whether American or Canadian, seems to have a fatal influence on the mother-language. But one does not need to move across the continent. It makes a difference in what New England town one happens to settle. The district of Woonsocket a family lives in may make a difference. One may cease to use French for a few years and adopt it again because one's neighbor uses that and no other.» This explanation was offered by some of the mothers and was obviously indicative of the situation in numerous homes.

The French-Canadians in Rhode Island are essentially a bilingual people. That this is characteristic of the group in other situations has been attested by many writers dealing with the same problem, particularly in Canada.

«It is an outstanding fact,» writes Helen C. Munroe in a recent article[3] «that the educated French-Canadian speaks almost flawless English in addition to speaking a French that can be understood anywhere in a French-speaking country.»

French-Canadians who came under our observation expect their children to be bilingual as a matter of course. Native-born children know English and are being taught French and French tradition.

This biculturalism is not limited to the use of French as a language. There is an ardor for all things French. Nor is this devotion necessarily French-Canadian. The Canadian flag is rarely exhibited, but the French flag is seen alongside the flag of the United States. To the French the former is the symbol of his culture; the latter, of his country. Loyalty to Canada as a homeland is seldom heard expressed, but loyalty to French culture and American citizenship is urged in every page of their literature. This is a conscious policy indorsed and fostered by those who represent leadership in the group. Its manifestation in Woonsocket is obviously typical of the situation in other communities.

The dependence upon language is closely related to the religious problem. Indeed, the French-Canadian church and the parochial schools are the custodians of culture values. It is here that the dominance of the Irish, and particularly the «Irish theory of Americanization»—which assumes that the use of English as the primary language is an essential characteristic in an Americanization program—evokes resentment.

The French-Canadian conceives Americanization as a process which brings into harmonious relation two diverse cultures. It is a plea for diversity in American community life. In this they are not alone among foreign nationalities in this country. But they are probably unique in having promulgated, some thirty years ago, a theory of Americanization which anticipated various theories of Americanization now current, one in particular which is in practive among numerous groups in this country. It is a conflict between different theories of Americanization that constitutes the core of the dissensions in Woonsocket to which reference has been made. Knowledge of these theories of cultural adjustment is significant in comprehending the behavior of immigrant groups and in formulating a general program of

Americanization which may integrate several group policies frequently functioning in the same community.

Adequate treatment of the subject deserves a volume in itself. As an outcome of her intimate association with the study Mlle Bossavy was led to write out a statement[6] which summarizes and interprets the tenets of this theory as it is the basis of conscious thought and action for the French-Canadian people in America. It is not possible to enlarge further upon this subject here, except to indicate its importance in interpreting the contact of the group in the community under survey, and to point out its significance as another «research lead.»

A fuller statement on the French-Canadian position in general must await more careful and deliberate examination of the French literature on the subject. It is [. . .] sufficiently ample, but the fact is that here in Woonsocket there are epitomized in the existence of the group national struggles and aspirations truly characteristic of this people in its Canadian history and in its struggle to put itself at ease in our own environment.

FRANCO-AMERICANS

In Woonsocket no other group, excepting possibly the British, can claim to represent old settlers in greater degree or can claim larger contribution to stock. In their group life here the French-Canadians are true to the policies articulated in conventions, in their press, and by their leaders.

The French-Canadians insist and our data would corroborate the assertion that their adherence to the French language is not inconsistent with the use of English. The indications are that we have here a people that long remains not only bilingual but bicultural. In general, this «biculturation» is uniquely American. They themselves like to describe it as Franco-American, not French-Canadian, and this point is made an issue in the educational programs which they foster. «We want an American-trained French clergy,» said one Rhode Island priest, «a clergy that is 'American minded.'» Looking toward the clergy for leadership, the need is expressed for leaders trained in the United States, steeped in Catholic French tradition, and cognizant of the problems arising from migration and settlement in still a new homeland. No other nationality can claim to have enunciated a theory of Americanization more clearly or to have organized its group life more consciously toward a given end than have the French-Canadians. It is manifestly a theory of adjustment, of Americanization, and one of frank «resistance» to certain Anglo-Saxon (and Irish) traits in American life. It is with them «a way of life» to be defended against certain encroachments which they fear and to be harmonized with a political theory which they support.

The professions of those who speak with authority for the group, together with our factual data bearing on Woonsocket, indicate that the habits of French-Canadians in that community are truly «national» as they would say, and that the struggles there represent genuine cultural issues in the life of the group. [. . .]

Notes

1. I.e., of all children in public and parochial schools.

2. Mlle Bossavy.

3. «Bilingual Signs in Montreal and Its Environs,» *American Speech*, V, No. 3, 228.

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Language is the focus of Hervé B. Lemaire's article published in the 1966 volume entitled Language Loyalty in the United States, *edited by Joshua A. Fishman. This is an excellent scholarly piece, well-documented and balanced in judgment. The role of the national parishes, the parochial and private schools, the national societies—religious and fraternal, the press, the struggle in the Church and the impact of state educational regulations on the maintenance of the French language in the Franco-American centers are all set forth. Lemaire sees World War I patriotism, the depression, the resurgence of prosperity, as well as the fact that migration from Canada all but ceased in the 1930's, as crucial factors diminishing the use of the French language. (The extent of the use of French in 1975 as compared to other languages is documented in the Current Population Report: «Language Usage in the United States» further on in this volume.)*

FRANCO-AMERICAN EFFORTS ON BEHALF OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE IN NEW ENGLAND

by

Hervé-B. Lemaire

Over a million people in the United States speak French natively, the largest concentration residing in New England. Franco-Americans, as New Englanders of French-Canadian descent like to be called, pride themselves in having developed a bilingual culture. In general they speak Canadian-French as it was spoken in the Province of Quebec at the turn of the century, with a liberal admixture of Americanisms. Save for some minor problems of a lexical and phonetic nature, the average native of France has little, if any, difficulty in understanding educated Franco-Americans of New England. Franco-Americans readily understand the spoken and written standard language of modern France. There are, as a matter of fact, many places in France where the language customarily spoken by a majority of the population deviates much further from standard French than does the French spoken in New England (Carrière 1949, p. 10).

Compared with most other immigrant languages in the United States, French survives with surprising vigor. This is chiefly due to the determined efforts of the first Franco-Americans, who had the vision to establish a vast network, of interlocking religious, educational, cultural, and fraternal organizations at a relatively early date. Today, their 284 parishes are still strong ethnic entities. Their 253 institutions of learning, including seven liberal arts colleges, 51 high schools, and 195 elementary schools, offer one hour or more of French each day in all grades and at all levels. Franco-Americans in New England support several societies whose

TABLE 10.1

U. S. Census Data on French Mother Tongue

	Foreign Born	Native of Foreign or Mixed Parentage	Native of Native Parentage
1910	528,842	828,327	X
1920	466,956	823,154	X
1930	523,505	X	X
1940	359,520	533,760	518,780
1960	330,220	X	X
	Increases Relative to Earlier Figure		
1920	−11.7%	− .6%	X
1930	12.1	X	X
1940	−31.3	−35.2	X
1960	−8.15	X	X

primary function is to promote ethnic survival. They have an active French-language press and scores of radio stations carrying special French language programs. In some cities, French continues to be spoken in the home, at work, and at play. However, in many other areas Franco-Americans are abandoning the daily use of French, and those who still show a marked interest in the language ordinarily do so as a cultural pursuit. Considered unassimilable a generation ago (Gunther 1947, p. 487), Franco-Americans have in recent years become acculturated to a remarkable degree.

The French-Canadians came to this country, originally, to earn a decent living and to save money with which to return to their beloved farms in Quebec. They lived in New England, in the 19th century, much as they had in French-Canada. Although many now worked in the mills, their real interest lay with their families, their fellow «exiles,» and their ethnic organizations. They lived in French-Canadian neighborhoods, usually by choice, frequently in corporation houses. The ghetto-like French quarters gave them a feeling of security and provided a semblance of the villages they had left behind. In their *petit Canada*, the French-Canadians led a simple life, observing their traditional holidays, singing their folk-songs, dancing their jigs and quadrilles, and relating their marvelous tales. All this they did in French, for at that time they spoke very little, if any, English. The little English they did know, they used only with «outsiders» when absoultely necessary.

French-Canadians, then, fully intended to preserve their ethnicity. Proud of their heritage, they took it upon themselves to perpetuate it. They deemed it essential to preserve their faith and their traditions, and were convinced that loyalty in these two areas depended fully upon the preservation of the French language. Loss of language meant loss of faith, and loss of faith meant loss of eternity (Ducharme 1943, p. 92). For many generations, this was to be the basic tenet of the Franco-American creed, shared by official organizations as well as by the masses.

THE EARLY DAYS: THE CHURCH

Prior to the foundation of their own parishes, Franco-Americans attended territorial churches where they often were merely tolerated. They found no warmth and little meaning in churches where everything but the Latin rite was foreign. They prayed to the same God as their English-speaking Catholic co-religionists, but the sermons and other interpersonal relationships important to their religious practice were less meaningful to them because of the language barrier. They had no schools where their children might pursue their education in French. Their children normally attended public schools where contact with youngsters of other backgrounds fostered much-dreaded assimilation.

In 1850, Franco-Americans opened the doors of their first «national» church in New England, Saint-Joseph in Burlington, Vermont. As the numbers of immigrants grew, more French parishes were established and the search for a French-speaking clergy began. This search ultimately brought priests from Belgium and France as well as from the Province of Quebec (Walker 1961, p. 11). As in Canada, these churches became the focal point for nearly all phases of community life: social, cultural, and educational, as well as religious. «The mystic bond» that existed between the language and the religion of the Franco-Americans was thus reconfirmed (Ducharme 1943, p. 66). As a rule, the only focus of immigrant activity was in religion; with few exceptions, the only «intellectuals» who had emigrated along with the artisans

TABLE 10.2

U.S. Census Data on French Mother Tongue 1910-1960[a]

State	Population	% Foreign Born	% Native of Foreign or Mixed Par.	Foreign Born: % non-English Mother Tongue		Total	Urban	Rural N F	Farm	1940	1930	1920	1910
						(FOREIGN BORN)							
Connecticut	2,535,234	11	28	77	[b]	227,200	196,873	27,317	3,010	248,960	298,418	289,867	232,777
					[c]	23,303	18,811	4,288	204	20,400	28,919	18,376	22,118
					[d]	10	10	16	7	8	10	6	10
Maine	969,265	6	17	50	[b]	40,472	28,303	10,741	1,428	43,660	52,632	55,373	53,220
					[c]	21,091	16,683	3,997	411	29,140	37,325	36,071	35,342
					[d]	52	59	37	29	67	71	65	66
Massachusetts	5,149,317	11	29	61	[b]	389,116	351,818	34,753	2,545	493,780	598,192	615,332	544,982
					[c]	59,125	51,647	7,164	314	86,740	121,712	116,364	141,266
					[d]	15	15	21	12	18	20	19	26
New Hampshire	606,921	7	22	66	[b]	33,347	25,412	7,257	678	46,480	57,519	62,951	62,237
					[c]	17,664	14,135	3,244	285	28,720	38,024	38,609	41,060
					[d]	53	56	45	42	62	66	61	66
Rhode Island	859,488	1	30	70	[b]	66,272	60,683	5,282	307	92,520	113,367	111,538	105,962
					[c]	14,542	12,620	1,889	33	25,440	33,954	31,270	36,549
					[d]	22	21	36	11	27	30	28	34
Vermont	389,881	6	16	67	[b]	15,688	7,059	6,121	2,508	19,840	27,400	26,295	27,498
					[c]	9,159	3,678	3,500	1,981	11,820	17,524	14,406	14,902
					[d]	58	52	57	79	60	64	55	54
Louisiana	3,257,022	.9	3	67	[b]	25,507	22,077	2,843	587	21,740	31,597	38,965	44,336
					[c]	1,642	1,450	178	14	1,880	3,263	4,425	5,828
					[d]	6	7	6	2	9	10	11	13
U.S.A.	179,325,671	5	14	74	[b]	7,885,151	6,895,466	793,645	196,040	8,603,200	10,886,384	10,704,822	9,981,753
					[c]	330,220	276,186	45,533	6,562	359,520	523,505	466,956	528,842
					[d]	4	4	6	3	4	5	4	5

[a] All columns not otherwise designated pertain to 1960.
[b] Number of foreign born claiming non-English mother tongue.
[c] Number of foreign born claiming French mother tongue.
[d] b as a percent.

and farmers were the clergy; the only organization which could maintain the unity of the group was the Church (Niebuhr 1929, p. 223).

However, Franco-Americans encountered serious difficulties in the very organization upon which they relied so completely. The number of French-speaking priests was never sufficient. The American bishops, predominantly Irish, were increasingly reluctant to name French-Canadian pastors. They alluded to the difficulty of convincing the more desirable French-Canadian priests to leave Canada (Rumilly 1958, p. 101). Franco-Americans, who were accustomed to look upon their bishops and their priests as leaders of the people and champions of their ethnic survival, soon found that this was not always to be so in the United States. Irish bishops and priests looked forward to the assimilation of the Franco-Americans (Rumilly 1958, p. 90). America's bishops wanted to destroy the image that Catholicism was a «religion of foreigners» in the United States. Cardinal Gibbons and the bishops strove to «break nationalism within the Church» (Siegfried 1927, p. 50).

Franco-American history abounds with anecdotes and opinions concerning the official policy of the Catholic Church toward the use and maintenance of the French language in this country. For example, one reads of Bishop O'Reilly, of Springfield, Massachusetts, who proclaimed that «the best means for the Franco-Americans to preserve their faith is to preserve their language, to remain attached to their customs, to educate their children in their mother tongue» (Lauvrière 1924, p. 520). On the other hand, a much more typical view was that of the Reverend James E. Cassidy, Chancellor and later Bishop of the diocese of Fall River, Massachusetts, who declared at a ceremony in New Bedford, Massachusetts: «The grandeur of a nation depends upon the assimilation of the diverse races that come to live in that country» (Rumilly 1958, p. 204). Bishop Thomas Hendricken of Providence, considered a proponent of assimilation, found the Franco-Americans very exacting and hard to satisfy. In answer to delegates of a Franco-American parish pleading for French-speaking priests, he replied: «Why do you want French-speaking priests? In ten years everyone will speak English in your parishes» (Rumilly 1958, p. 106). Such replies undoubtedly irritated those who considered themselves to be defenders of the faith.

The situation grew progressively more acute. One of the chief causes of dissension was the basic difference in church management in Canada and in the United States. In Canada, French Canadians had elected their *marguilliers* or church wardens who supervised the financial affairs of the parish. They naturally assumed that they would also control the monetary affairs of their churches and their schools in New England. They were, therefore, rudely awakened when American bishops attempted to channel Franco-American parish funds toward other diocesan charities.

In the State of Maine the Corporation Sole system was in effect, whereby the bishop, by state law, was the sole proprietor of any and all church property. This law prevented Franco-Americans from administering the real estate which they had financed. They were informed that the schools and churches they had built did not belong to them but to the bishop. A similar system, the Parish Corporation, existed in the other New England states where the bishop, his vicar general, and the pastor of the parish selected two laymen to act as syndics. Again, the bishop, to whom the vicar general and the pastor were subject, was in control. In practice, the pastor assumed the role of administrator, and the lay members of corporations had neither the rights nor the obliga-

tions of the *marguilliers* of the Province of Quebec (Rumilly 1958, pp. 115-116, 238-39).

This development, together with the firm conviction shared by Franco-Americans that the Irish clergy intended to destroy their ethnic values, readily indicates why clashes became inevitable. They all revolved directly or indirectly around the French language. Rumilly, in his *Histoire des Franco-Américains*, lists a large number of conflicts of varying degrees of seriousness. In 1894, in Danielson, Connecticut, Franco-Americans refused to contribute to the construction of a school where French would not be taught. This occurred in a parish where there were 1800 Franco-Americans and only 300 Irish. In 1900, in North Brookfield, Massachusetts, parishioners revolted because they were not given a French-speaking pastor. They sided with their Franco-American curate who was under suspension, until they were given assurances that one of their own nationality would eventually become pastor. In 1909, the famous Corporation Sole case in the State of Maine came about as a result of Church-sponsored attempts at assimilation through the naming of English-language priests to French-speaking parishes. The fact that Franco-Americans lost their case before the Maine civil court, and for all practical purposes in Rome, augmented their anguish. Situations such as these spurred the historian Edmond de Nevers to say: «The Irish clergy in the United States is the most ferocious enemy of the French, German, Polish, and Italian Catholics» (de Nevers 1900, pp. 321-344).

THE SCHOOLS

When the Third Council of Baltimore decreed that Catholics were required to erect parochial schools wherever possible the order was superfluous as far as Franco-Americans were concerned, since from the time they had built their very first church they had also built schools, staffing them with nuns belonging to religious orders founded in Canada or in France. At first, these schools adopted the French-Canadian curriculum and methods, with most subjects being taught in French. However, as Franco-Americans adjusted to their new environment, they felt a greater need for the English language, although most still considered it to be no more than secondary in importance. They devised an elementary school system consisting of eight or nine years, depending upon the public school organization in the local area. The school year consisted of forty weeks, and the school day lasted, on the average, five and one-half hours. Usually the morning session was devoted to subjects more easily taught in English, while in the afternoon the French language, religion, and the history of Canada were taught in French. While many of these schools were very successful and acquired a high degree of respectability, others were inadequately staffed and lacked proper equipment. The term «French school» was not always meant to be flattering.

In 1904, the Assumptionist Fathers opened a school in Worcester, Massachusetts, which was soon transformed into a liberal arts college, Assumption College, where Franco-Americans might send their children for advanced French training. Many still sent their sons to schools in the Province of Quebec.

By 1912, there were 123 Franco-American schools—a striking testimonial to an ethnic group that would not die (Bachand and Louis 1938, p. 200).

THE SOCIETIES

Parallel to the development of churches

and schools was the organization of ethnic societies. Feeling the pressures of other nationality groups and wanting to rub elbows with their own, Franco-Americans sought fraternal gatherings. Societies stood for certain ideals, helped to maintain a nationalistic spirit, and thus filled a real need (Leboeuf 1938, p. 203). Every parish had the customary assortment of religio-social groups such as the *Ligue du St. Nom de Dieu*, the *Dames de Sainte Anne*, and the *Enfants de Marie*. Moreover, Franco-Americans organized into purely social and fraternal societies, where their language and their customs became an integral part of organizational activity. As early as 1859, the first such Franco-American society was founded in Burlington, Vermont, to preserve and propagate the ancestral traditions and the cherished French language.

In 1865, the *Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Bienfaisance de New York* invited all existing French-Canadian associations to convene to discuss the major problems confronting the survival of the French group in the Northeastern States (Therriault 1946, pp. 50-51). The constitution of the convention had the following preamble:

> The French-Canadian mutual societies in the United States, having been founded for the dual purpose of serving the cause of the French-Canadians in America and of encouraging mutual assistance, cannot hope to accomplish this mission as long as they act separately. For this reason, they have organized in a common association and have adopted a constitution which will facilitate its operations.

In article 4 of this constitution, it was enacted that all deliberations be in French.

Beginning about 1880 and continuing into the succeeding decades, local *Saint-Jean-Baptiste* societies sprung up all over New England. In 1889, *La Société Jacques Cartier* was founded in the State of Rhode Island as a fraternal order. On November 26, 1896, the first mutual insurance society, *L'Association Canado-Américaine*, was founded in Manchester, New Hampshire. Two main reasons prompted the birth of the ACA. First, there was a strong desire to have a large ethnic society. Many Franco-Americans wished to unite into a single powerful federation all the local *Saint-Jean-Baptiste* societies which were then maintaining themselves with lacklustre success. Second, they wanted to discourage their brethren from swelling the ranks of neutral or «banned» societies (Lemoine 1921, p. 143). In October 1905, a meeting of members of different mutuals, dignified by the presence of leading Franco-Americans, was held in Springfield, Massachusetts. It was decided to sever relations with the Catholic Order of Foresters and to form a separate *Ordre des Forestiers Franco-Américains*. This new association would be a federative society of mutual aid and would comprise persons of French descent and Catholic affiliation (Guillet 1914, p. 516). *L'Ordre des Forestiers Franco-Américains* amalgamated with *L'Association Canado-Américaine* in 1939.

Franco-American societies were in fairly close contact with their counterparts in French-Canada. Exchanges of visits and of ideas were frequent. In June, 1912, *La Société du Parler Français* in the Province of Quebec organized a French language congress in Quebec city and invited the collaboration of Franco-American groups. Monseigneur Paul-Eugene Roy, Auxiliary-Bishop of Quebec and soul of the Congress, toured the New England states to urge active participation in the convention. Franco-Americans attended the congress in large numbers and were officially represented by their leaders, who described their ethnic situation in New

England in optimistic terms. However, one could detect an underlying current of anxiety in their all-too-frequent reminders that the French language would finally win out despite the many attacks made on it in New England.

THE PRESS

With the growth of the Franco-American population and its many ethnic enterprises, a need was felt for a French language press. Franco-Americans have understood well the power of the press and have exploited it to the extent of being accused of a «mania for founding newspapers» (Bracq 1927, p. 335). In less than a century they inaugurated nearly 250 newspapers of every format, from short-lived pamphlets to grand political and national daily tribunes.

The first periodicals published by the Franco-Americans were really French-Canadian journals on American soil, characterized more by a series of sporadic and temporary efforts than by any lasting quality. However, the increasing struggle for survival, conflicts with Church authorities, and efforts to stave off assimilation were ideal fuel for journalists. In 1898, there were four daily French newspapers, three in Massachusetts–*L'Indépendant* in Fall River, *L'Étoile* in Lowell, and *L'Opinion Publique* in Worcester–and one in Woonsocket, Rhode Island, *La Tribune*. There were also a dozen or so weeklies. In 1911, Alexandre Belisle, president of *L'Opinion Publique*, published a history of the Franco-American press in which he reported seven dailies, almost as many as in the Province of Quebec. In addition to the four mentioned above, there was now *L'Avenir National* in Manchester, New Hampshire and *L'Écho* and the *Journal*, in New Bedford, Massachusetts.

These newspapers defended the two causes considered most vital by Franco-American leaders: French parochial schools and a French-speaking clergy. They tilted not only with the non-Catholic press, but with such Irish publications as the *Catholic Review*, the *Freemail*, the *Catholic Union*, and the *Boston Pilot*, all of which never ceased to advocate assimilation.

THE OFFICIAL ORGANIZATIONS AND THE PEOPLE

The close cooperation which initially existed between the Franco-American masses and their formal organizations weakened with the years, particularly among the newer generations. Having become better adjusted to the American way of life, they developed a self-confidence which lessened their dependence on the ethnic group and its organizations, and to some extent diminished their effective attachment to their ethnic origins.

On the other hand, Franco-American leaders, who had been primarily engrossed in efforts to promote the cultural continuity of their group, gradually evolved a philosophy of «political militancy». Reacting against the spirit of Americanization which swept the country in the early 20th century, they sought to redefine Americanism to mean cultural pluralism, arguing that Franco-Americans were American citizens who retained their French language and their Roman Catholic faith. Imbued with this lofty ideal, but failing to appreciate fully the concerns and aspirations of the common people in their daily struggle with down-to-earth realities, the leadership of the societies slowly drew ever further away from the views and attitudes of the majority of Franco-Americans.

The ethnic involvement of the early Franco-Americans had been almost complete.

Their frequent relations with Canada and continued immigration kept the old culture alive. Intermarriages with «outsiders» were rare. Most Franco-Americans adjusted slowly to the idea of permanent settlement in America and long maintained an interest in French-Canadian happenings. However, more and more of them came to realize that their lives were to be spent in the United States where their children were born and educated. French-Canadian farmers, who came to this country ostensibly to earn a little more money and return home, slowly took on new habits and attitudes and, eventually, abandoned forever the idea of repatriation.

Many believe that Franco-Americans would have been quickly assimilated had it not been for the Irish challenge which prompted them to organize. As it was, most first-generation Franco-Americans believed that their language had to be preserved because their faith and hence their salvation depended on it. In fusing the religious and ethnic norms, a powerful emotional force was generated which permeated nearly all facets of Franco-American life and made of this minority group one of the least assimilable of all the ethnic groups in America (Walker 1961, p.16).

The first Franco-American novel, Honoré Beaugrand's *Jeanne la Fileuse* (1878), is a romanticized report of the French-Canadian migration to the United States. Although Beaugrand's major interest was to refute the unfavorable coverage emigrants received in the Canadian press, we are more interested today in his description of the increasing prosperity of Franco-American mill workers. This prosperity, limited as it might have been, became a cause of assimilation. By Beaugrand's time it had already produced a few individuals who had decided to «go up the hill», that is, to leave the *petit Canada* and settle in a more prosperous section of the city. Separated from their national parishes, they attended the territorial churches and their children soon became assimilated.

Second-generation Franco-Americans became even more absorbed in the American way of life. The young were entranced by the mass media and by the variety of other attractions which abounded in urban centers. Evenings spent in the family circle became less frequent, and when young Franco-Americans met amongst themselves the French language was not always used. The latest American show-tunes soon replaced the old Canadian folksongs (Cadieux 1914, p. 362). They lived in an era and in a milieu where everything hailed American superiority. They did not want to pass for immigrants in the richest country in the world. If they attended parochial schools, a large part of their schooling was in English. All of their education was in English if they attended public schools. They spoke English with their de-ethnicized or other-ethnic playmates. Later they would speak English with their co-workers and with employers, in fact, with almost everyone in the business world. If they married a non-French girl English would be the only language spoken in the home (Rumilly 1958, p. 176). Most people understood that the *sine qua non* for success in this country was a practical knowledge of English and of American institutions and methods. Those immigrants who knew English before entering the United States progressed more rapidly than others. Furthermore, among those who spoke no English upon arrival, the quickest to succeed in America were those who were also quickest to understand the importance of mastering the language of the country (Cadieux 1914, p.255).

THE INTER-WAR YEARS

The turn of the century and, notably, World War I brought about important transformations in social attitudes and behaviors in the United States. Patriotism was fired up

during the world conflict and, along with a belligerent attitude toward Germany, there arose a sentiment of distrust for almost anything foreign. There was a widely-shared feeling that an American should be English-speaking, follow Anglo-Saxon traditions, and, preferably, be imbued with our Colonial heritage. At about the same time, relative prosperity and comfort reinforced the great equalizing pressures of conformity. The subsequent evolution of the family, the school, and even the Church resulted in a considerable degree of cultural homogenization. During the 1920's Franco-Americans experienced their greatest struggles against total assimilation in what was perhaps their last concerted effort for ethnic survival.

The Great Depression of the early 1930's was the catalyst which produced a critical reaction among many Franco-Americans against *«la survivance»*. The textile workers, especially those who were on relief and at the mercy of government subsidy, slid rapidly into the «melting pot». With the return of relative prosperity, the middle-class urge gripped the nation, touching off a spontaneous and almost irresistible impulse to get ahead, to be accepted, to attain a certain level of economic and social security. Many Franco-Americans, consciously or not, wished to shed the vestiges of the immigrant and to approach as much as possible the American's self-image, the «national type,» the idealized «Anglo-Saxon» model (Herberg 1956, pp. 33-34).

In addition, there was less and less opportunity to draw inspiration from first-generation immigrants, always an important factor in ethnic survival. Migration from Canada had all but ceased in the early part of the century. In September, 1930, President Hoover had sent the following instructions to American consuls in Canada: If consular officials judge that an applicant might become a public burden, even after a considerable period of time, they must refuse him a visa.[1] For a time, as many migrants returned to Canada as entered the United States. Those who were dedicated to preserving Franco-American ethnicity in the parishes, in the societies, and in the press found their influence greatly reduced during this critical period.

THE STRUGGLE IN THE CHURCH

Parishes had grown in numbers and had become institutionally stronger, but the dynamism of earlier years was being replaced by a spirit of consolidation. Struggles within the Church continued to reflect a strong insistence on the part of Franco-Americans upon the right to manage their own affairs in their «national» parishes (Theriault 1960, p. 406). While the overwhelming majority of Franco-Americans resented the forced use of parish funds, they nevertheless submitted to the duly constituted authority of the representative of Rome. However, only strong outside pressures were capable of bringing to a close the long, bitter struggle of the anti-Irish *Sentinellistes* and their followers. As was expected by most Franco-Americans, the *Sentinellistes* suffered defeat both in the courts and in Rome.

First, a court decision upheld the Bishop's right to tax parishes for diocesan work (October 4, 1927: Superior Court of Rhode Island: Judge Tanner). Then, as Rome clearly could not condone open revolt against ecclesiastical authority, a third appeal of the *Sentinellistes* was turned down, carrying with it the dreaded sentence of excommunication along with the suppression of the rebel newspaper *La Sentinelle*. Many Franco-Americans claim that the *Sentinelle* «affair» greatly diminished the political influence and the language maintenance interests of Franco-Americans in Rhode Island.

After the crisis of the mid-twenties,

there were few controversies over the appointment of priests, or over diocesan permission for school construction in the «French» parishes. Apparently convinced of the merits of a more tactful approach, and aware of the strength of assimilating social forces, Church authorities relaxed their more stringent policies in these respects. Language loyalists, for their part, remained wary of conflicts in which they stood to lose more than they could gain.

The percentage of Franco-American parishes supporting their own parochial elementary schools was high during the inter-war period. However, Franco-American schools were gradually becoming essentially American rather than French-Canadian. Both the State Education Department's rulings and «common sense» required it. The schools would have remained empty had they continued to educate French-Canadians instead of American citizens. Few, if any, Franco-American teachers would now attempt to develop in their pupils a nostalgic affection for Canada, a country which the children barely knew from occasional visits and where they would surely never live. Preaching French-Canadian patriotism could not strengthen their love for the French language. Indeed, it could only injure it. Persons who persisted in exhorting young Franco-Americans to develop such a loyalty spoke a meaningless language to the younger generation. Survival of the French language had to be based on other motives if it were to appeal to the youngsters. However, a new ideological and pedagogic rationale was hard to come by.

LAW AND REALITY

The right to teach French in the private elementary schools of New England has its guarantee in the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States. The Fourteenth limits legislative powers of the States, while the Fifth limits those of the Federal Government. The pertinent section of the Fourteenth Amendment reads as follows: « . . . nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property, without due process of law». A similar provision has been incorporated into the constitutions of the six New England States. Furthermore, the Supreme Court has solemnly declared that the freedom of parents to entrust their children to private schools where they receive, in part, instruction in their ethnic mother tongue, contains nothing counter to the common good[2] as long as certain essential information required by the State is not neglected. Thus this latter guarantee is not absolute, but it does exist to a comforting degree.

Ernest D'Amours has amply demonstrated that the following conclusions may be drawn from the texts of the constitutions of the six New England states regarding the teaching of foreign languages in private schools (D'Amours 1938): private schools are tolerated if their curricula include those studies required by the public schools, and if English is the medium of instruction in these studies. Beyond these studies a private school can teach a foreign language if this in no way prejudices the primary instruction required by the State. That even this toleration is not fully guaranteed can be easily demonstrated. In the period between the two World Wars a vast majority of the education officials in the New England States were English-speaking. Many of them were opposed to foreign language institutions at the elementary level or, at the very best, were apathetic toward such institutions. By overloading the required public school curriculum they could easily circumvent the constitutional guarantees upon which Franco-Americans depended for mother tongue instruction. Consequently, although Franco-American schools had the right to teach

French, little time was accorded them in which to do so. The attitude of diocesan officials, whose primary concern, no doubt, was to upgrade elementary education in the parochial schools, but who also surely saw the possibility of working toward a more uniform church in New England through less emphasis on ethnic factors, clearly provided no obstacle to this development and probably abetted it.

THE SOCIETIES AND THE PRESS

The societies and the press also found the task of protecting the French-Canadian heritage increasingly arduous during the period 1918-1945. It was frequently observed that Franco-American children born in the United States did not have the same loyalty for the land of their ancestors that had marked their parents and grandparents (Leboeuf 1938, p. 204). The mission of the societies and the press was now felt to be to support the Church, the school, and the family in their efforts to orient the native-born in the «proper» direction. The trouble, however, was in defining and formulating this orientation. Aside from similarly-phrased, well-meaning manifestoes and public proclamations of lofty principles, no clear, broadly-supported plan of operation, capable of galvanizing the masses into a concerted effort to maintain their cultural and linguistic heritage, came forth. The problem of living biculturally in an environment that tended toward de-ethnicized conformity could not be solved by manifestoes.

«Resistance» leaders warred as well against the rising trend of intermarriage. Although Franco-Americans rarely married non-Catholics, they now freely intermarried with the Irish and other non-French Catholics. In the strong Franco-American community of Woonsocket, Rhode Island, only 7% of the first generation and 8.8% of the second had contracted mixed marriages. In contrast, fully 35% of the third generation entered into such marriages. Mixed marriages seemed to occur most frequently among educated Franco-Americans. Such individuals frequently preserved their mother tongue after marriage but it was rare indeed for their children to be able to speak French. Often they attended the territorial churches of their spouses and avoided the label «Franco-American».

TABLE 10.3

All Franco-American marriages contracted in Fall River, Mass., for the Years 1880, 1912, 1937, and 1961[a]

	1880	1912	1937	1961	Total
Total Number	97	334	432	373	1236
Both Parties Franco-American	83	231	218	77	609
Percentage	86%	70%	50%	20%	49%
Total One Member non-Franco-American	14	103	214	296	627
Percentage	14%	30%	50%	80%	51%
Total Both Parties R. C.	93	303	352	299	1047
Percentage	96%	90%	81%	80%	85%
Total One member non-R. C.	4	31	80	74	189
	4%	10%	19%	20%	15%

[a]From the records of the City Clerk's Office, City Hall, Fall River, Mass.

Most Franco-Americans interested in ethnic survival relied heavily on the family as a significant force for language maintenance. However, this institution was seriously weakened by assimilation in city environments. Although an appreciable number of Franco-Americans had located in American rural districts, it was chiefly in the industrial centers that they were concentrated. Census figures show that in 1920, 84.2% of Franco-Americans in New England lived in cities, while the national urban proportion at that time was 76.8%. Massachusetts and Rhode Island boasted the largest percentages of Franco-American city dwellers, 96.4% and 99.6% respectively. It became fairly common practice for most parents to speak to their children in French and to receive answers in English. All in all, the young spent less and less time at home. Even when the depression of 1929 temporarily put a halt to many outside social activities, evenings were spent listening to the radio, a pastime that was to hasten the assimilation process. Undoubtedly many Franco-Americans were able to listen to French programs from Canada, and there were a few French-language broadcasts in New England. On the whole, however, the habit of family-listening to popular American programs opened the portals wide to the English language within the family context.

In spite of this, the Franco-American family was relatively slow to change. Parents did not encourage their children to leave home in order to «succeed in life». Members of the family frequently lived close together even after marriage, and obtaining positions elsewhere was frowned upon because separation would weaken family ties. They lived the byword of General de Castelnau: «Family first! The rest, if the family is strong, united and prosperous, will come of itself.»[3] Nevertheless, family traditionalism could not counteract the environment of the large cities. Faced with the apparent indifference or powerlessness of the masses in the face of assimilation, Franco-American leaders hinged their hopes on an «elite», an amorphous group still vitally interested in the French language and in ethnic values.

ADJUSTING TO THE INEVITABLE: THE CURRENT SCENE

America's contribution to the Allied cause in World War II increased its prestige throughtout the world, and civic pride reached an all-time high throughout the nation. More than ever Franco-Americans now wanted to be recognized as 100% Americans. Whatever their occupational or social standing, they cared less and less to be identified with an ethnic group. They read the comic strips every day, watched «soap operas» on TV, and consciously as well as subconsciously identified with these and other projections of the American image. An «American» prototype always proved to be dominant, was predictable in appearance and in name, was always a white-collar worker or a professional, was middle-class in outlook and culture, each family with its home in Suburbia (Herberg 1956, pp. 33-35).

Nevertheless, Franco-American organizations still sought to remedy their waning influence over the masses. After sincere but for the most part ineffectual attempts to recapture their original influence an increasing number of leaders accepted the new «elite» concept. The masses were now only superficially affected by the ethnic organizations. For all practical purposes, the youth ignored the very existence of the societies.

Two main arguments were advanced for the introduction of English in the «French» churches—one financial, the other theological.

Franco-American parishes had been losing parishioners steadily, with mixed mar-

riages probably being the primary reason. Experience had shown that couples of mixed national origins do not, as a rule, attend a church in which one of them does not understand the sermon. Catholics in this country have the «right of option,» that is, the right to transfer from a «national» parish to a territorial church. Parishioners would learn English and join a territorial parish, so that by 1957, for example, there were 19,000 Franco-Americans in the «French» parishes of Fall River and 11,000 in the territorial parishes of that city. It was felt that the former parishioners were irrevocably lost and that unless the Franco-American pastors could miraculously stem the tide, the depletion of their parishes would continue and their financial problems become increasingly more acute.

From the point of view of theology, pastors realized the necessity to teach the Faith to their parishioners in a language they could understand. Therefore they felt an obligation to provide religious instruction in English to those of their flock who understood little or no French. Instead of being the «keeper of the Faith» that it once was, the

TABLE 10.4

Franco-American Parochial and Private Educational Institutions, New England, 1961[a]

	Maine	% [b]	N.H.	% [b]	Vt.	% [b]	Mass.	% [b]	Conn.	% [b]	R.I.	% [b]	Total	% [b]
Parishes	66	(50)	55	(47)	21	(23)	95	(13)	21	(7)	26	(17)	284	(18)
Clergy	123	(37)	104	(26)	27	(12)	265	(8)	44	(4)	68	(11)	631	(10)
Elem.Paroch.Sch.	27	(52)	27	(47)	6	(24)	81	(22)	14	(9)	24	(25)	179	(24)
Nuns teaching	320		333		71		868	(15)	159		274		2,025	
Brothers teaching	27		4				1						32	
Lay teachers	19		10		8		54	(4)	18		21	(11)	130	
Paroch.High Sch.	4	(50)	7	(41)	1	(13)	12	(12)	1	(6)	3	(25)	28	(17)
Nuns teaching	30		72		5		81		5				193	
Brothers teaching	24		2				17						43	
Priests teaching							1						1	
Lay teachers	8		1				4						13	
Private Elem.Sch.	5	(71)	3	(50)			6	(15)			2	(25)	16	(20)
Nuns teaching	49		20				34				14		121	
Brothers teaching	5						9				14		28	
Lay teachers	1						2						3	
Private High Sch.	6	(75)	3	(60)			9	(23)	1	(6)	4	(50)	23	(31)
Nuns teaching	84		23				109		11		6		233	
Brothers teaching	5										34	(32)	39	
Priests teaching	13						28						41	
	2		2				22		1				27	
Private colleges	2	(50)	2	(50)			2	(18)	1	(20)			7	(19)
Nuns teaching			39				22		14				75	
Priests teaching	19						18		1				38	
Lay teachers	9						31		5				45	

[a] Data derived from *Official Catholic Directory* but not limited to schools in parishes officially designated as French «national» parishes.

[b] Percent Franco-American of Diocesan total.

French language had become an instrument of religious ignorance (Lemaire 1961, p. 45).

French as a subject of formal instruction in parochial schools likewise suffered setbacks. Inasmuch as the teaching of foreign languages received a strong impetus in the United States in World War II, when the Federal Government became concerned with the serious lack of language training in this country, one would think such a change in national outlook would have stimulated Franco-Americans to a renewed interest in maintaining their mother tongue. However, many former Franco-American G.I.'s remembered that they were embarrassed by deficiency in English during the war -rather than by a deficiency in French. Vowing their children would never have to face such embarrassment, they sent them to public schools or insisted on more and better English (rather than French) in the parochial schools. The national need for language proficiency is less personally relevant than second-generation insecurity and mobility strivings.

Many Franco-Americans who belong to «national» parishes send their children to public schools. Moreover, large numbers have left the Franco-American parish and its schools altogether. Too, the character of the «French» schools is itself changing. Not only do they follow State laws pertaining to the curriculum, they are also more closely supervised by diocesan school directors. The sudden growth of the Catholic population in certain areas—as, for example, when military personnel began establishing themselves with their families near the bases where they were stationed in the postwar period—has forced many Franco-American schools to admit large numbers of non-French children who otherwise would have been denied a Catholic education. Interestingly enough, changes such as these have rarely produced pressure from the parents of the «new elements» to eliminate French from the curriculum. As a matter of fact, they generally consider a strong foreign-language program at the elementary level to be a decidedly attractive feature. The French program in Franco-American schools frequently finds its strongest supporters in the parent group having no French linguistic or cultural heritage. The attitude of the parents in this respect is clearly reflected in the strong motivation of non-Franco-American pupils who show a laudable, and to the teacher a somewhat embarrassing, rate of increased proficiency when compared with their native-speaking clasmates.

The quality of French taught in many of these schools is good. Practically all teachers are Franco-Americans and are fully bilingual. Most received their early training in similar parochial schools and their later training in institutions where French was heard both inside and outside the classroom. However, French cannot be taught today as it was a generation ago. Then, when a child entered school, he often knew no English while he spoke and understood French fluently. Teachers proceeded to teach reading, writing, and grammar much as English is taught in the public schools today. But the toll of assimilation has been heavy, and today most Franco-American children enter school unable to speak French, often even unable to understand it. Some children, gifted for languages, learn French quickly and speak it well, perhaps better than their parents speak it. Altogether too many, however, do poorly and struggle through eight years of French with little to show for their efforts. Others are withdrawn from the parochial school after a few years and are sent to public schools, for it has become the practice among parents to blame a child's poor performance in the parochial school on the «added burden» of a foreign language.

French has become less attractive to an

increasing number of Franco-American parochial school pupils with each passing year, primarily because old-fashioned teaching methods have not kept pace with social transition. In many schools modern instructional equipment is lacking and textbooks are hopelessly outdated and unattractive. Many of the texts employed were printed in Canada years ago; their topics hold little interest for young Franco-Americans today. In Franco-American high schools, teachers are similarly unsuccessful in coping with the new situation even though their pupils are a more select group. They usually manage to «salvage» only one small group of students who can follow a traditional French program. The remainder are taught a minimum of French, often in an ineffectual way, always with poor results.

In past generations, French was taught with little or no regard for comparisons with standard French. Many teachers spoke «Canayen,» or «joual» (the current term for «jargon» used in the Province of Quebec today) (Bro. Pierre-Jerome 1960, p. 23). This caused their pupils little or no discomfort since, with few exceptions, the French they heard all around them was non-standard. Indeed, any child attempting to speak standard French would have been considered a snob. The situation today is completely the opposite. Children are fully aware of the stigma associated with non-standard speech, and those whose parents still speak French realize that it is a relatively «poor» brand. They are often ashamed of it and rarely want to speak it even when they know it well enough to do so. This, of course, places an added responsibility on the teachers who must, first of all, realize the problem, and then undertake to cope with it. Most Franco-American teachers of French have sufficient command of standard French and are positively oriented toward it, so that the transition to teaching standard French is usually one of goodwill on their part.

A continued sore point with many conservative Franco-Americans is the teaching of religion, or catechism, in the schools. Many still believe that Faith and language are interdependent, and insist that the catechism be taught in French. Though many teachers might like to do this, it is a very difficult and sometimes impossible goal to attain with children who know little, if any, French. As a result, religion is «explained» in English in most Franco-American elementary schools. In some cases, French texts are still used and «parrot-recitation» is resorted to. The same problem exists in the parochial high schools. French texts are used in some schools but explanations have to be given in English almost everywhere. It is generally felt that most students prefer to study religion in English, that they do not know French well enough to grasp the more difficult dogmas when expressed in that language, and that the English texts are more up-to-date, more attractive, and more «American» (Lemaire 1961, p. 44).

From the foregoing, one might be tempted to conclude that French is now a negligible element in Franco-American education. Such is not the case. Pupils with linguistic aptitude learn as much French as their parents did and speak it as well if not as often. Obviously, slower pupils learn little French because they lack the reinforcement of follow-through at home. Nevertheless, Franco-American schools still teach enough French to enable better students to converse fluently and to fare well in local and regional contests sponsored by various societies. Some go on to major in French and are now doing invaluable work as bilingual teachers of French in public or parochial schools at every level of instruction.

Even Assumption College in Worcester, Massachusetts, the once proud hope of the advocates of ethnic survival, has had to bow to the needs of the new generation. It was al-

TABLE 10.5

French Broadcasting in the United States

A. *Number of Stations*	1956	1960
No. of Stations in New England		
according to: Broadcasting[b]	31	25
ACNS[c]	43	43
LRP[d]	—	39
No. of Stations in Louisiana		
according to: Broadcasting	14	12
ACNS	18	17
LRP	—	17
No. of Stations in Rest of U.S.A.		
according to: Broadcasting	8	10
ACNS	12	23
LRP	—	21
Total No. of Stations		
according to: Broadcasting	53	47
ACNS	73	83
LRP	—	77

B. *Hours/Week of French Language Broadcasting*	1956			1960		
	N[a]	Hrs./Wk.	Av. Hrs.	N	Hrs./Wk.	Av. Hrs.
Hours/Week in New England						
according to: Broadcasting	31	80.25	2.59	24	49.50	2.06
ACNS	34	83.50	2.46	40	92.75	2.32
LRP	—	—	—	38	105.75	2.78
Hours/Week in Louisiana						
according to: Broadcasting	14	74.50	5.32	12	111.75	9.31
ACNS	13	70.75	5.44	15	117.25	7.82
LRP	—	—	—	16	124.50	7.78
Hours/Week in Rest of U.S.A.						
according to: Broadcasting	8	6.00	.75	10	9.50	.95
ACNS	9	6.50	.72	21	15.50	.74
LRP	—	—	—	19	17.75	.93
Total Hours/Week						
according to: Broadcasting	53	160.75	3.03	46	170.75	3.71
ACNS	56	160.75	2.87	76	225.50	2.97
LRP	—	—	—	73	248.00	3.40

[a] N = number of stations for which information is available on hours/week of French language broadcasting.
[b] *Broadcasting Yearbook - Marketbook Issue*, 1956 and 1960.
[c] *Radio Stations in the United States Broadcasting Foreign Language Programs*, New York, American Council for Nationalities Service, 1956 and 1960.
[d] Language Resources Project.

ways evident that its small enrollment was an obstacle to efficient operation. Only very wealthy American colleges continue to operate with an enrollment of under three hundred students. In 1950, after nearly fifty years of operation, Assumption College still had only 182 students. That same year Holy Cross College, also in Worcester, had 125 students of Franco-American nationality. If to this number were added the Franco-Americans attending Boston College, Providence College, St. Anselm's College and St. Michael's College, to name only the better-known Catholic institutions in New England, not to mention the non-Catholic colleges in the area, the proportion attending Assumption was small indeed. The type of program offered was simply not attractive to the majority of Franco-Americans. The Superiors finally decided that it was better to save the college than to sacrifice it to a lost cause. Assumption has now organized a considerably modernized bilingual program and has opened its doors to students of any ethnic origin interested in a liberal arts education (D'Amours 1960-61, p. 13). Sweeping changes in the regulations governing student life have made the campus atmosphere that of a typical American Catholic college.

The Societies, too, have been adjusting to the inevitable. Organizations have a tendency, anyway, to forget their original purpose and to concentrate on development. This has been true of most Franco-American societies. In the process of bureaucratization many of them lost the personal touch which had once been so attractive to their constituents. Most first-generation and many second-generation Franco-Americans continue their membership in the societies but they are far less active members than they were in former years. The average Franco-American of the third generation is little attracted to them, if at all. Anomalous as it may seem to strong partisans of linguistic and cultural continuity, the French language has become a barrier that keeps the young generation away from the societies. As French is the only language tolerated in official deliberations, the «young element» feels that the type of program offered is incompatible with its ideals and unsuited to its needs.

At the close of the Second Congress of the French Language, in Quebec in 1937, a permanent committee was organized, *Le Comité permanent de la Survivance Française en Amérique*. This was a general council of all French-language groups of North America with headquarters in the city of Quebec. All French-speaking groups on the continent thus would work together against the forces of assimilation. This committee encountered no more than indifference in many circles in New England. The very word *Survivance* was unpopular with people who had had enough of clashes and conflicts and was reminiscent of the *Sentinelle* «affair». In 1952, at the Third Congress of the French Language, the name of the committee was changed to *Le Conseil de la Vie Française en Amérique*. This council, very influential in the Province of Quebec, includes several Franco-Americans. It maintains close liaison with the major Franco-American groups in New England. On January 29, 1947, in Boston, the *Comité d'Orientation Franco-Américaine* was founded. This committee, specifically Franco-American, «would study the problem of survival; would establish an historic, concrete, and common goal for all Franco-Americans to pursue; would conduct a survey of the resources available for its realization; in order to unite all Franco-Americans in the methodical and unified pursuit of survival». In the first sixteen years of its existence, the *Comité* organized six conventions of the Franco-Americans of New England: 1949, in Worcester, Massachusetts; 1951, in Lewiston, Maine; 1954, in Manchester, New Hampshire; 1957, in Woonsocket, Rhode Island; 1959, in Fall River, Massachusetts; and 1961, in Hartford, Connecticut. In 1957,

when it was felt that the period of orientation had been completed, the committee changed its name to *Le Comité de Vie Franco-Américaine*. It has founded several subsidiary groups in an attempt to consolidate organizations dispersed throughout New England. Although all of these groups are autonomous, they receive guidance and support from the *Comité de Vie Franco-Américaine*.

One of these, *L'Alliance Radiophonique Française*, founded in 1950, is a loosely federated organization of some twenty-five Franco-American directors of French-language radio broadcasts in New England. Their programs vary from serious discussions and the enacting of French classics to soap operas and folk music. Unlike periodic publications, radio programs operate with little overhead. Most are broadcast one hour a week, but some areas such as Lewiston, Maine; Manchester, and Nashua, New Hampshire; Woonsocket, Rhode Island; Holyoke and Fall River, Massachusetts have several programs, some daily and others broadcast for two or three hours per week. Even where total ethnic assimilation has taken place, French radio programs attract the attention of those Franco-Americans who have retained an interest in French culture, as well as the attention of Americans of other backgrounds for whom French language, music, and «culture» are matters of interest or pleasure.

Currently, a new type of club for Franco-American men is winning favor in New England. The *Clubs Richelieu*, organized along the same lines as service clubs throughout the United States, appeal especially to professionals and businessmen. That these clubs are popular in spite of the fact that only French may be spoken at the bi-monthly meetings bears proof that there is a «twice-a-month» interest in promoting French culture. Since 1955, ten *Clubs Richelieu* have been founded in New England, totaling about 350 members.

As for the press, the severe financial problems facing all newspapers in America have contributed to the decline of the Franco-American press. The polemical, even factional character of many of these newspapers has been an additional source of their weakness. But above all, the dwindling interest among the younger generation and the strident ethnic appeals of the more aged editors have hastened the disappearance of many Franco-American newspapers during the last two decades (Walker 1961, p. 13). *L'Indépendant* of Fall River, Massachusetts, became a weekly in November, 1962, marking the end of the last French-language daily in the United States. It was published as a weekly only until mid-January, 1963, when it was discontinued entirely. Six other weekly newspapers remain, with English steadily displacing more and more French from their pages.

Literature and the arts attract increasing numbers of Franco-Americans. Poetry and the Franco-American novel have recently appeared in greater quantity and in far better quality than in earlier years. Historians and journalists have become more plentiful. But most Franco-Americans write in English, probably because the English readership is infinitely vaster in this country. The most famous Franco-American author is undoubtedly Will Durant, the historian-philosopher, considered to be one of America's finest «popular scholars». Although Franco-Americans have excelled in many of the arts, notably music, they have yet to make a highly distinctive or visible contribution as a group to the culture of America.

Along with the weakening of their ethnic involvement, Franco-Americans have experienced in the last two decades their greatest social progress. Most of them credit better

TABLE 10.6

The French Periodic Press in the United States

Year and Region	*A. Publications appearing entirely in French*												*B. Mixed (French and English) publications*											
	Dailies			Weeklies, etc.			Monthlies, etc.			Total			Dailies			Weeklies, etc.			Monthlies, etc.			Total		
	N	Circ.	N[a]	N	Circ.	N[a]	N	Circ.	N[a]	N	Circ.	N[a]	N	Circ.	N[a]	N	Circ.	N[a]	N	Circ.	N[a]	N	Circ.	N[a]
1930: [b]New Eng.	5	213	4	16	678	12	1	480	1	22	1371	17							1			1		
Rest of USA	2	109	2	2	38	1	2			6	147	3				5	105	3				5	105	3
Total	7	322	6	18	716	13	3	480	1	28	1518	20				5	105	3				6	105	3
1940: New Eng.	5	222	5	13	373	7	1	447	1	19	1042	13				1	20	1	2	12	1	3	32	2
Rest of USA	1	31	1	1	68	1	2	20	1	4	119	3				3	103	2	1	80	1	4	183	3
Total	6	253	6	14	441	8	3	467	2	23	1161	16				4	123	3	3	92	2	7	215	5
1950: New Eng.	2	85	2	11	298	8	2	469	1	15	852	11				2	22	1	1			3	22	1
Rest of USA				2	33	1	3	48	2	5	81	5				1	14	1	2	44	1	3	58	2
Total	2	85	2	13	331	9	5	517	3	20	933	14				3	36	2	3	44	1	6	80	3
1960: New Eng.	1	37	1	7	201	6	2	625	2	10	863	9							1			1		
Rest of USA				1	17	1	2	300	2	3	317	3				1	12	1	1	47	1	2	59	2
Total	1	37	1	8	218	7	4	925	4	13	1180	12				1	12	1	2	47	1	3	59	2
LRP 1960: N. Eng.	1	37	1	7	349	6	3	457	2	11	843	9							1			1		
Rest of USA				1	12	1	3	19	3	4	31	4				1	12	1	1	47	1	2	59	2
Total	1	37	1	8	361	7	5	476	5	15	874	13				1	12	1	2	47	1	3	59	2

[a] N = number of periodic publications for which circulation data are available. Last two digits have been dropped in circulation figures.

[b] data based upon Ayer's *Directory*.

education and, notably, increased knowledge of English as the chief factors in their social advancement. Many have ascended several steps higher in the professions and in business and many are becoming property owners and moving to the suburbs. While the advantages of higher education are becoming increasingly more evident to them, this does not mean that they have become a scholarly group positively oriented toward scholarship per se; it does mean that they place greater emphasis on their children's education. More and more Franco-American youngsters graduate from high school and go on to college. This is an investment in social mobility if in nothing else.

Franco-Americans show the undeniable effects of urbanization. The city tends to destroy cultural distinctiveness, family primacy, and traditional behavior—among ethnics and non-ethnics alike. Many Franco-Americans have already lost their ethnic identity. In many cities most of them cannot be differentiated from other Americans.

The ethnic situation of Franco-Americans, then, is self-evident. Their ethnic behavioral particularities have become less distinctive. The institutional structure supporting the unity of *La Franco-Américanie* has shown increasing signs of weakness. The evidence points to further assimilation in the future. The process is unlikely to be reversed. It is equally unlikely that it can be appreciably slowed down. On the contrary, it will very probably be more rapid in the next twenty-five years than it has been in the past.

THE FUTURE OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE IN NEW ENGLAND

The growing awareness in American educational and governmental circles of the dearth of non-English language skills necessary for the maintenance of optimal commercial, diplomatic, and cultural ties with the rest of the world has given new momentum to foreign languages in the United States. The language resources of American immigrant groups are coming to be seen as a huge and valuable treasure which should be recognized as such and protected from the ravages of apathy and antipathy. Undoubtedly, official support (rather than merely non-interference) is a new departure in American life. Its impact on the language situtation could well be decisive, both for the minority groups and for the future of American society itself (Fishman 1962, pp. 60-61).

The Federal Government paid special tribute to Franco-Americans by sponsoring the Franco-American Institute at Bowdoin College, in the summers of 1961 and 1962. This language institute, originated and directed by Dr. Gerard J. Brault, a young Franco-American now Associate Professor of Romance Languages at the University of Pennsylvania, was made possible by the terms of the National Defense Education Act, under the auspices of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Unlike any other in the country, it admitted only Franco-American teachers of French. These bilingual men and women were trained to teach French «in the New Key», but with particular emphasis on the Franco-American situation. They studied the basic lexical and phonetic difficulties Franco-Americans encounter when transferring to standard French and prepared an experimental French text and tapes for use with Franco-American pupils. A new doctrine was developed, new methods and techniques were tested experimentally. In each of the summers, 1961 and 1962, there were thirty lay teachers, men and women, and ten religious teachers at the Institute. Many of these teachers returned to Franco-American parochial schools, while others are now teaching in public schools where there is a preponderance of Franco-American pupils.

Six motivational factors were agreed upon as being of importance in attracting young Franco-Americans to study French:

(i) Pupils must be assured that the course will be interesting and worthwhile. They will more readily accept a modern approach than the old-fashioned methods against which they will have been prejudiced by their older brothers and sisters.

(ii) They must be made to feel that they already know a good deal of French and that, with a little effort and good will, they can speak as well as any «Parisian».

(iii) They must be led to love the heritage represented by their language. If they are ashamed of their Franco-American background, they will frequently lose interest in the language. They must be taught the highlights of French-Canadian history with appropriate references to France. The many contributions of France to the origin and to the civilization of the United States will give them reason to be justifiably proud.

(iv) Parents must be asked to help out but there must be no attempt to turn back the clock. That French will probably never be used again in daily communication seems almost a certainty. Rather, parents should be asked to encourage their children to learn French well and to learn it correctly, i.e., to learn standard French if they are going to study the language at all.

(v) For the time being, wherever possible, classes should be organized homogeneously in the first year of high school. There is nothing more dispiriting for those Franco-American students who have had eight years of French in a parochial elementary school than to be placed with pupils who have had no French at all, in a French I class in high school. On the other hand, experience has shown that many of these same Franco-American pupils are overconfident and become discouraged by the different standards of the high school course, neglect to study, and frequently fail to derive any benefit from the course. In a homogeneous group, Franco-American pupils can be taught to use what they already know, which is considerable, and to absorb new vocabulary and acquire standard French pronunciation.

(vi) Finally, the appeal of doing something in the *national* interest is perhaps the most important motive. Learning a foreign language has become the ambition of a great number of Americans. It is now patriotic to want to speak French.

Prestige is an instrumental attachment which moves many people to want to learn standard French. Other instrumental attachments related to the study of French, among Franco-Americans as among others, are the possibility of a good position in the diplomatic service, in the import-export trade, in teaching, in careers on the operatic and concert stage, in newspaper and magazine editing, in translating and interpreting, in bilingual stenography, in employment at United Nations headquarters, and at other specialized agencies, and in numerous other endeavors. In general, Franco-American teachers of French must adopt certain «Madison Avenue tactics» if they seek to attract the young.

Parochial schools have always been regarded by Franco-American leaders as the backbone of resistance to assimilation. They have always believed that as long as French was taught in their schools its survival would be assured. In spite of strong opposition from within and without the Franco-American fold, the number of Franco-American parochial elementary schools continued to grow. In 1910, there were 114 such schools and in 1960 there were 179, an increase of 57%. These schools reached their peak enrollment in 1930 with a 66.5% increase over that of 1910. What happened after 1930 is difficult to pinpoint, but the symptoms are rather telling. Although the number of schools continued to multiply and the total Franco-American population continued to grow, the enrollment in Franco-American parochial schools decreased—first by 7% in the decade 1930-40, and then by 17% in that of 1940-50. During this period, pressures of all kinds were placed on religious orders of brothers and nuns to «Americanize» their schools, to give their teachers better training in English, to update their methods

and their equipment. Most of them complied with this «new look» in parochial school education. Although there is no unquestionable proof that these efforts had any direct impact on enrollment, it remains true that not only did the downward trend come to a halt, but Franco-American parochial elementary school enrollment increased by 10% from 1950 to 1960.

There are still those who decry the changes that have taken place in these schools, particularly the restriction of French instruction to one period per day. However, such critics are few in number and their influence is felt less and less. There are many more who believe that the French language is now taught as well as, if not better than, in previous years. The Franco-American parochial schools of the future will probably continue to offer essentially the same academic program as the public schools of New England. If they progress as they have in the last ten to fifteen years, they will indeed be an invaluable asset to the nation as well as to the ethnic group they serve.

Many Franco-American high schools, both parochial and private, have opened their doors to youngsters of all backgrounds. Being of more recent organizational origin, they have adapted themselves more quickly to the new order. In consequence, their growth has not been hampered and has continued uninterruptedly to the present day. The whole picture of the Franco-American schools is much healthier and brighter than that of the societies, the press, or other formal organizations.

The two largest Franco-American societies, *L'Union Saint-Jean-Baptiste d'Amérique* and the *Association Canado-Américaine*, boast libraries of French, French-Canadian, and Franco-American publications. The Lambert Library at the *Association Canado-Américaine* in Manchester, New Hampshire, is unequalled in its collection of Franco-American documents and correspondence dating from the early immigration period to the present day. The Mallet Library at *L'Union Saint-Jean-Baptiste d'Amérique* in Woonsocket, Rhode Island, is potentially an equally fine research center in Franco-American lore. These societies, together with the other large mutuals, promote education by granting scholarships to needy members. This type of sponsorship can undoubtedly stimulate a greater interest in French, by encouraging those who show an aptitude for and a desire to further their language studies.

The *Société Historique Franco-Américaine* is potentially the best coordinator of the various Franco-American cultural interests. Its purpose is acceptable to all Franco-Americans, as are its methods and activities. It has limitations, however. There is only one unit for all New England. Meetings are held twice a year, usually in Boston, where a small group of Franco-Americans hears distinguished speakers, prominent in French circles. These meetings are significant for many reasons but there is a noticeable absence of youth. The goals of the *Société Historique* are too important to be taken lightly. No one advocates abolishing the *Société* or changing its present organization. Rather, there are those who would like it to serve as the guiding light for smaller groups throughout New England. Some would like to see it branch out into local chapters, where discussion groups would do the same work on a smaller scale. Many serious Franco-Americans believe the *Société Historique Franco-Américaine* is the most important medium of cultural exchange and creativity still remaining for Franco-Americans.

Finally, there is *Le Comité de Vie Franco-Américaine* and its subsidiaries. It is a very active and influential group but only at the upper echelons. There are two schools of thought within the *Comité*. Some want to

keep it as it is, claiming it was never meant to be a «popular club», that it was organized to serve a more lofty purpose, that of developing a philosophy, a code of ethnics, which would orient the Franco-American toward a more meaningful expression of his ethnicity. Others want to avoid such «ivory tower» connotations. They want the *Comité* to work more closely with the people, to be «practical» rather than «philosophical». The *Comité* as a whole is much interested in youth and plans to invite several young and promising Franco-Americans to join its ranks. It is also considering a modification in its forthcoming conventions so as to provide for greater participation on the part of all delegates, with a serious attempt to get to the heart of certain key problems.

As for the press, the small individual Franco-American newspapers are struggling for survival. Figures on the French-language press show that it has declined so radically in the last fifty years that any extrapolation of the trend would indicate that it is bound to disappear entirely in the near future. At the time of this writing, a study is being made by the *Comité de Vie Franco-Américaine* of the advisability of creating a new French-language newspaper which would appeal to cultured Franco-Americans throughout New England.

Generally speaking, one must conclude that the present generation is forsaking the French language and Franco-American ethnic traditions and self-concepts. However, new hopes are rising, an expanding elite is studying the French language so as to speak it correctly—and this no longer for sentimental or ethnic reasons only, but with more practical motives, such as ambition, social prestige, and cultural eagerness.

French, therefore, will continue to be spoken in New England; and though it will not be used as widely as before, it will be of a more generally acceptable quality. Those who speak it will do so because they want to. While true bilinguals are a rarity in the United States today, many Franco-Americans *are* bilingual and many more will have an opportunity to *become* so. The rising Franco-American generation speaks English as well as any group in the country. Those who choose to preserve or to learn French will develop a new insight into American culture which should bring them much personal satisfaction, and perhaps profit as well. Whereas many predicted that the history of the French language in New England would come to a close in this generation, it seems rather to have taken on a new aspect and to be proceeding in an unexpectedly hopeful direction.

Notes

1. *New York Times,* September 10, 1930.

2. The right of parents to send their children to private schools was upheld in the famous case of *Pierce v. Society of Sisters,* 268 U.S. 510, decided in 1925, and involving an Oregon statute requiring all children to attend public schools. The court held that this statute was in violation of the 14th Amendment. In 1922 the same Court had determined in four different cases that the right to speak and teach a foreign language in private schools was also guaranteed by Article 14 of the Bill of Rights. These cases are *Meyer v. Nebraska, Bartels v. Iowa, Bohning v. Ohio,* and *Pohl v. Ohio,* all reported in 262 U.S. 390. One year after the Pierce case, in 1926, a statute of Hawaii was the occasion for a declaration by the United States Supreme Court that Article 5 of the Constitution guaranteed that the education of children belonged of right to their parents and any unreasonable restriction preventing the free exercise thereof was prohibited. The case is *Farrington v. Tokushige,* 273 U.S. 284.

3. «Famille d'abord! Et le reste, si la famille est forte, unie et prospère, viendra par surcroît.» Congrès de Lille, December 5, 1920.

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In the following article from Sports and Franco-Americans in Woonsocket, Rhode Island, 1870-1930, *Richard S. Sorrell explores the dual role of baseball, boxing, wrestling and hockey in a Franco-American community. On the one hand these sports contributed to the acculturation of the ethnic group to American ways of life. On the other hand they helped to preserve ethnic identity, helped create parish social solidarity and contributed to the maintenance of the French language. In passing, the author communicates in his comments the pulsing vitality of the French-Canadian immigrant community of Woonsocket.*

SPORTS AND FRANCO-AMERICANS IN WOONSOCKET, RHODE ISLAND 1870-1930

by

Richard S. Sorrell

Recently there has been an increased interest in viewing sports as a reflector of American values, both positive and negative. A spate of muckraking volumes has been published by disenchanted athletes in baseball and football, criticizing both the excessive violence and exploitative nature of professional sports.[1] Scholars in such disciplines as history, economics and sociology have begun to examine relationships between sports and American society as a whole.[2] Publications concerning American sports are no longer solely trivial, anecdotal or adulatory.

There is still a lack of historical studies dealing with sports in American life at various periods of our past. Lacunae are especially noticeable in studies of specific communities.[3] Historians concerned with immigration and ethnicity have devoted little space to the role of recreation—specifically sports—in adaptation of immigrant groups to American society.

This brief study concentrates on the importance of sports in the lives of French Canadian immigrants and their descendants (Franco-Americans) in a New England textile mill town—Woonsocket, Rhode Island—during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In many ways Woonsocket was a typical New England textile town, relying mainly upon the attraction of first cotton and then woolen textile mills to increase its population from 11,527 in 1870 to 49,376 in 1930.[4] During the period after the Civil War vacancies in textile mills were increasingly filled by French Canadian immigrants driven from Quebec by poor agricultural conditions and lack of urban-industrial opportunities, and lured by the chance of higher wages in industrial New England.

Woonsocket's uniqueness derives from the numerical dominance of Franco-Americans. By 1875 they were the largest single ethnic group, and people of French Canadian origin or descent formed sixty per cent of the total population by 1900, about seventy per cent by the 1920's.[5] It was truly the Franco-American capital of the United States by then, and it is doubtful if any other American city of the period had a higher percentage of population composed of one immigrant group.

The great majority of Woonsocket's Franco-Americans worked in manual jobs at textile mills and lived in densely packed wooden tenement sections. The most heavily French Canadian area was the «Social» district in East Woonsocket, but there were concentrations of Franco-Americans in practically all areas by the 1920's. Their strength of numbers meant that a full panoply of ethnic institutions was created, including French-speaking parish churches, parish schools, mutual aid organizations and native language newspapers. The Franco-American elite of Woonsocket provided a sufficient number of professionals and businessmen to

service their ethnic working class brethren. It is commonly acknowledged that, from the late nineteenth century until the 1930's, French was the dominant language of Woonsocket, providing little incentive for older French Canadians to learn English.[6] No wonder Woonsocket was often considered *«la ville la plus française d'Amérique.»*

What role did sports play in either aiding or hindering acculturation of this mass of Franco-Americans to their new urban Woonsocket environment during the 1870-1930 era? The sport which probably enlisted the most participation on the part of Woonsocket's Franco-Americans was baseball. This is not surprising, considering that during the early twentieth century baseball held a paramount position among American males as a spectator and participant sport.[7] Major leagues of professional baseball were at their height of popularity during this period, especially in the 1920's. Countless millions of youngsters and adults participated in their own semi-professional, amateur and sandlot games. Although other sports (especially football) and other forms of recreation (particularly movies, radio and the automobile) were beginning to compete with baseball in the 1920's, it still reigned supreme during a time when all American sports and recreation were becoming increasingly democratized.

Baseball's greatest popularity coincided with the large influx of immigrants to the United States, primarily from southern and eastern Europe. Representatives of most immigrant groups played in the major leagues. Until the 1920's Irish and Germans were the most numerous, but by that time more southern and eastern Europeans were finding niches on major league rosters. Obviously the percentage of members of these immigrant groups who could hope to play in the majors remained small. However the glamorous «hero worship» appeal of professional baseball, coupled with the identification of many immigrants and their children with the American «Horatio Alger» dream of «making it,» meant that professional baseball served as a means of upward mobility (both imaginary and real) for America's white ethnic groups.

Harold Seymour has indicated that baseball may have served an acculturative function for many immigrant youths. Children of various nationalities played together on baseball teams and therefore diminished inter-ethnic hatreds. The simple act of playing mixed-nationality baseball on municipal fields often helped to draw immigrant children out of their ethnic ghettos. Seymour also shows that baseball could strengthen ethnic identity and nationality rivalries since frequently each city immigrant group would have its own baseball team. Thus sports contests could become a forum for venting ethnic hatreds.

This darker side of baseball's social role was also exemplified by anti-Semitism and racism practiced in the major leagues in the early twentieth century. Discrimination was not confined to Jews and non-whites. Many members of immigrant groups, particularly those from southern and eastern Europe, were subjected to various forms of nativistic abuse.

There can be little doubt that those of French Canadian descent in the major leagues suffered from the same nativism, particularly since French Canadian immigrants were frequently put in the «new» immigrant category with southern and eastern Europeans, and were consequently seen as culturally inferior to the earlier arriving northern and western Europeans.[8] Nevertheless a large contingent of Franco-Americans played professional baseball in the 1900-1930 era. A *Sporting News* article in 1913 stated that Franco-Americans in professional baseball

outnumbered either Irish or Germans, usually considered the two leading groups. Apparently those of French Canadian descent numbered over one hundred in the minors, as well as five who were playing in the two major leagues.[9]

The interest of French Canadian immigrants in baseball is amply demonstrated by their recreation patterns in Woonsocket from 1870 to 1930. There is no doubt that this was the dominant sport in Woonsocket throughout the entire sixty year period. As early as the 1880s, local games drew crowds in excess of 1,000 and the popularity of local baseball as measured by attendance increased until the 1920s. At this time baseball began to decline in relative local popularity with new recreational patterns introduced after World War I by mass usage of movies, radio and automobiles.[10]

The growing Franco-American community in Woonsocket rapidly adopted baseball as its favorite sport, in spite of the fact that first generation immigrants must have had little prior contact with the sport in their rural Quebec parishes. By the 1890s many Franco-Americans were enthusiastically playing baseball. Games on Sundays and holidays soon became regular activities in French Canadian districts. Their national parishes organized church teams and parish picnics displayed a baseball game as a regular feature.[11] There were at least four amateur and semi-professional baseball teams in Woonsocket in 1905, three of which were entirely composed of Franco-Americans. Workers from local mills formed a mill League in 1907, and numbers of Franco-Americans on individual teams ranged from one-sixth to three-fourths.[12]

Editors of *La Tribune*—local French language newspaper of the French-American community from 1895 until the 1930s—quickly realized they would have to report baseball news if they wished to compete with Woonsocket's English language newspapers. Consequently they sporadically offered a column listing professional major and minor league baseball scores as early as 1897. By 1908 *La Tribune* featured a daily sports page listing both local and national baseball scores, and in the 1920s the paper was devoting to national baseball coverage almost equal to that of the local English language journal. This is an indication of how immigrant newspapers adapted to the urban American environment in an attempt to retain the reading loyalty of their acculturating subscribers.[13]

Increasing Franco-American acculturation in Woonsocket to native American folk ways was probably hastened by baseball and other sports. Many local residents, who grew up in Woonsocket before 1930, testified to this writer that Franco-American youths mixed freely with other ethnic groups and native Americans while playing sports. This mixing encouraged children of French Canadian descent to learn English in a city where Franco-American numerical dominance meant that there was often little need to speak English within the confines of the family, the church, the school, and even in stores or in the mills.[14]

The reverse linguistic tendency also occurred. In the heavily French Canadian Social district, it was not unusual to observe basebali and football games before 1930 in which all conversation and signals were carried on in French, possible because all the young members of both teams used French as their primary language. Therefore sports could retard, as well as advance, the rate at which a youngster replaced French with English.[15]

The most evident index (although not the most accurate) of the esteem French Canadians attached to baseball was that this

city of less than 50,000 people produced three Franco-American players in the professional major leagues during the 1870-1930 period. It is doubtful if any other city of comparable size produced as many major leaguers, let alone from one ethnic group.[16]

One of the greatest baseball men was Napoleon Lajoie—«The Big Frenchman»—born in Woonsocket in 1875, son of French Canadian immigrants, established major league star, and idol to Franco-American youth. His baseball accomplishments made him a center of national sports attention for twenty years.

Lajoie began playing for a local team, the Woonsockets, in the early 1890s. His professional career started in 1896 when he signed with a Fall River minor league team and in the same year was promoted to the majors. Immediately he became a star, compiling a .339 lifetime batting average while playing second base for three major league teams over twenty years. Elected to the Baseball Hall of Fame in its second year of existence, 1937, he was preceded only by Ty Cobb, Babe Ruth, Honus Wagner, Christy Mathewson and Walter Johnson. He led his league in batting three times, his .422 average of 1901 being the second highest in modern major league history. Excellent fielder and swift runner, Lajoie proved his managerial ability as player-manager of the Cleveland Indians 1905-1909.[17]

Napoleon's national fame was a constant source of pride for all Woonsocket but especially for the French Canadian community of the city. *La Tribune* carried almost daily articles reporting his feats of the previous day. Sports fans from Woonsocket traveled to Boston to see Lajoie play whenever his team was opposing the Boston teams.[18]

«The Big Frenchman» also made occasional trips home to be feted at local banquets, to play exhibition ball games before large crowds of local fans, and to visit his mother and other relatives who continued to reside in Woonsocket. There is some evidence that, upon these returns, he was treated more as a local hero than as a Franco-American. Newspaper reports of his 1900 and 1901 banquets indicate that most of the local dignitaries in attendance were not Franco-Americans, and that almost all the proceedings and entertainment were conducted in English.[19]

How much of his French Canadian heritage could Lajoie retain in the major leagues? He was living far from any centers of Franco-American life in New England while playing for Cleveland and the two Philadelphia teams. Therefore almost all of his friends and acquaintances would have been English speaking. It is possible that he remained French Canadian in name only. However he did insist on the French pronunciation of his name throughout his career.[20] He displayed the ideal French Canadian virtues of thrift and devotion to parents by saving over $100,000 and using some of these savings to buy his mother a new home in Woonsocket.[21]

Interestingly, Napoleon seemed to combine the French Canadian virtues of thrift and filial devotion with the American Horatio Alger dream of a poor boy «making it.» Lajoie quit school at an early age in Woonsocket to work as a wagon driver for $1.50 a day. He rose from these humble origins to a salary of $6,000 to $7,000 annually with Cleveland by 1910. This was an enormous amount when the average American worker's salary was $525, when a major league rookie earned about $1,500 and an established regular around $3,000. Only a few major leaguers earned over $5,000. Lajoie apparently always knew the value of a dollar. When he originally signed with Fall River he held out for an additional $25 a month. He jumped from the Philadelphia Nationals to the Ath-

letics during a trade war between National and American Leagues in 1901, securing a much higher salary. A biography in *La Tribune* in 1913 took great pride in stressing salary figures and life-long savings. Its editors were pleased with Lajoie's apparent ability to follow the Horatio Alger path without succumbing to those great American dangers which Franco-American priests never tired of warning against—hedonism and love of luxury.[22]

Two other Franco-Americans who made the major leagues were Louis Lepine and Henri Rondeau.

Lepine was a first generation immigrant (born in Montreal in 1876) whose parents moved to Woonsocket.

Rondeau was born in Danielson, Connecticut in 1887 and soon moved to Woonsocket with his family.

Neither had much success in the majors. Lepine was asked to report to the Pittsburgh Pirates spring training camp in 1899 but apparently played in minor leagues from that time until 1907; his major league career consisted of one brief trial with Detroit in the American League (1902) during which he batted only .202. Rondeau played three years in the majors (1913, 1915-1916) but his average was a measly .203.[23]

Nevertheless both men were popular among Franco-Americans. *La Tribune* devoted considerable space to Lepine's career during 1901-1902, and in 1904 and 1905 reported proudly that Lepine turned down a Rochester, New York minor league contract because he preferred living and playing ball in Woonsocket. Its editors suggested that an attempt be made to have him play with a local team, since he was so popular with local fans.[24]

Nativistic abuse was sometimes directed against members of immigrant groups who played in baseball's major leagues. One source indicated that Lepine's brief stay in the majors gave evidence of such nativism. Apparently his Detroit teammates labeled him a «foreigner» since he was born in French Canada and consequently both verbally and physically abused him during team practices. These malignings may have prevented him from demonstrating his true ability during his major league trial.[25]

Franco-American love of baseball became intertwined with a major *cause célèbre*, the *Sentinelle* crisis of the 1920s, which achieved a certain national notoriety.[26] A group of Franco-Americans in Woonsocket were militantly in favor of *survivance*.[27] They felt that the Catholic Church's Irish hierarchy in their diocese of Providence was endeavoring to reduce the financial autonomy of Franco-American parishes and force Franco-American youths to attend English-speaking Catholic high schools. These self-named *Sentinelles* saw this as part of a long-standing policy on the part of the hierarchy to eliminate all vestiges of «national» parishes from American Catholicism.[28]

Many Franco-Americans had long felt animosity toward the Irish because of Irish dominance in the hierarchy of the Church in the United States and their supposed desire to «Americanize» all later immigrant groups. *Sentinelles*, led by Elphège Daignault, became increasingly militant in their opposition in the 1920s. They refused to contribute to diocesan fund drives, especially for the new Catholic high school in Woonsocket, Mount St. Charles, which they claimed would be an instrument of the Anglicizers. They insisted that the French language have at least equal footing with English in all Woonsocket parochial schools. Furthermore, they petitioned the Pope in an attempt to stop the accepted practice of each diocese

taking a percentage of its local parishes' funds.

When the Pope supported the Bishop of Providence, *Sentinelles* instituted a civil suit and began a boycott against all contributions to the Church, including pew rent. After a series of acrimonious local disputes, including much name-calling and several incidents of near violence, *Sentinelle* leaders were excommunicated. The cause then slowly died, all of the leaders eventually repented and excommunications were lifted.

The most intriguing aspect of this five year controversy (1924-1929) is that it split Woonsocket's Franco-American community. Almost all local Franco-American priests and most of the moderate leaders of the community opposed *Sentinelle* tactics. Moderates insisted that loyalty to the Church overrode ethnic concerns. The most violent disputes took place between two groups of Franco-Americans, not between Franco-Americans and Irish. At one time *Sentinelles* may have had the sympathies of a significant minority, but eventually almost all left the cause.

During the height of the affair, *Sentinelles* formed a baseball team, the *Franco-Américains*, which played benefit games on Sunday afternoons throughout summer and fall 1928, charging thirty-five cents admission to raise money *«pour la cause.»* The *Franco-Américains* played many of their games on the field of St. Louis parish, which had a priest who was sympathetic to the cause. For a while this team drew considerable support, until one local French Canadian priest refused to allow his parish team to play against it because of its ideological nature. *Sentinelles* leaders complained in their newspaper that it was acceptable for Franco-Americans to play against Irish teams, but not against other Franco-Americans. Support for the *Franco-Américains* soon collapsed when most Franco-American priests and secular leaders in Woonsocket opposed the team's founders and goals.[29] The fratricidal nature of the dispute was so great that even baseball was drawn into the issue. The irony is that *Sentinelles*, militantly in favor of French Canadian *survivance* and opposed to any inroads of assimilation due to American ambiance, resorted to the archetypical American game in defense of their cause.

One might assume that French Canadian immigrants immediately imported their national sport of hockey when they migrated to New England. This was not the case in Woonsocket, although winters were cold enough to play the game. During the early twentieth century Franco-American youths apparently skated and may have played informal pick-up games of hockey, but it was not until the 1920s that the first organized hockey games were played.[30] Many factors seem to have spurred this interest. In 1926, a new Canadian-American professional league was formed, with a team in Providence. Its roster was mostly French Canadian and therefore aroused much interest among Woonsocket's Franco-Americans. In the same year the Montreal Canadiens of the National Hockey League (major league of professional hockey) made their first appearance in Providence, playing the Boston Bruins. *La Tribune* began to follow closely the exploits of these Montreal «Flying Frenchmen» and the Providence «Reds» club.[31]

Consequently, the city government of Woonsocket built a skating rink in 1926 and formed the first organized amateur hockey league in the history of the city. This coincided with formation of hockey as a school sport at the newly built Catholic high school, Mount St. Charles. The majority of the students were Franco-Americans, so hockey soon became a major sport. The 1927 school team was totally Franco-American, and by the 1930s Mount St. Charles had its own team of «Flying Frenchmen» noted through-

out New England for its hockey skill.[32]

It is evident that the first waves of French Canadian immigrants into Woonsocket after the Civil War had neither time nor inclination to play hockey. The sport did not flourish until the 1920s, when the bulk of Franco-American adolescents were no longer working in mills and had sufficient leisure and school time to devote to hockey. Also by this time younger Franco-Americans were increasingly acculturated to American ways. If they were no longer as sensitive to the jibes of «native» Americans, they may have been more willing to import their native sport to their new homeland. Finally, the great surge of enthusiasm for organized sports in the United States in the 1920s undoubtedly contributed to the rise of organized hockey in Woonsocket during these years.

The founding of Mount St. Charles in 1924 certainly stimulated participation of Woonsocket's Franco-American youth in scholastic sports. Although the high school was designed to serve Catholic students from all over Rhode Island, its student body was primarily drawn from Woonsocket's Franco-American population. Until this time few Franco-Americans who aspired to a higher education remained in Woonsocket. Most went to the *collèges* of Quebec rather than to Woonsocket's public high school, predominantly Protestant and Irish Catholic. Creation of Mount St. Charles meant that more Franco-American student elite were staying in Woonsocket past grade eight. Like most «preparatory» boys' schools, Mount St. Charles put much emphasis on sports as a relief from academic studies. Football, basketball, baseball, hockey and bowling were all major sports there in the late 1920s, and almost all of the athletes were Franco-Americans. Thus the 1920s saw a larger number of Woonsocket's Franco-American teenagers playing school sports.[33]

Other sports which seemed to interest Woonsocket's Franco-Americans were boxing, wrestling and weightlifting. The French Canadian tradition of idolizing a real or legendary strongman, *à la* Joe Montferrand or Louis Cyr, was carried by immigrants to New England. Montferrand was a legendary lumberman, equivalent of Paul Bunyan, who supposedly lived in Quebec and New England. The sagas even mention that he lived at one time in Woonsocket. Although a Franco-American of such heroic strength probably never lived in Woonsocket or anywhere in New England, his mythical memory was often used by Quebec and Franco-American storytellers who wished to establish him as an ethnic hero vanquishing hated Irish foes.[34]

Although Montferrand was only a legend, Franco-Americans had many real strongmen to idolize. Boxing and wrestling were major sports in Woonsocket by 1910. Wrestling declined in popularity after 1915 as there were movements to outlaw it, but boxing maintained its local appeal throughout the early 1920s. As many as 7,000 people attended boxing matches during the summer of 1920. Boxing and wrestling had definite nationality appeal to Franco-Americans, as many of the bouts involved Quebec French Canadians or New England Franco-Americans. *La Tribune* and local Franco-Americans strongly supported these «idols.» The matches often took on the appearance of inter-ethnic struggles, as Franco-Americans cheered for the victory of their men over a Swede or Irishman. *La Tribune* frequently included photographs of boxing and wrestling heroes stripped to the waist ready for action, pictures which contrasted strangely with the usual chaste and religious moralistic bent of the newspaper.[35]

The closest analogue to Montferrand which this author found was *«le Samson Canadien,»* a French Canadian weightlifter who

came to Woonsocket for an exhibition in 1916. *La Tribune* waxed rhapsodic over his prowess and asked all Franco-Americans to attend and pay homage to his strength and to the race which was long famed for strong men.[36]

The tie between religion and sports extended beyond sponsoring baseball games by various national parishes. Each Franco-American parish tried to provide as full a program of sports activities as possible. The goal was to keep the church as the center of social activities for youths and to prevent them from mixing inordinately with Irish Catholic and Protestant children at other recreation areas. Although a complete realization of this goal was obviously impossible, St. Ann's parish had considerable success with its *Gymnase*—built in the early 1890s—a large gymnasium with a variety of exercise equipment and areas for indoor sports. By 1895 the gym was getting heavy use, with about 250 males using the athletic equipment each night.[37]

A number of tentative conclusions can be drawn from this brief study. Sports obviously played a large role for many of Woonsocket's male Franco-Americans during this period. Baseball attracted the greatest number of participants and observers, but boxing, wrestling and hockey began to offer some competition by 1910. The importance of sports probably loomed largest for male teenagers, supporting the impressionistic evidence which novelist Jack Kerouac offered in *Maggie Cassidy*, describing the vital part which sports had in the lives of teenage ethnic gangs (largely French Canadian)—in Lowell, Massachusetts—during the 1920s.[38] In an era before the dominance of many forms of mass media and the ubiquitous presence of the automobile, sports remained one of the most important forms of participant-observer recreation. It is ironic that importance of sports for Franco-Americans seemed to reach its highest level in the 1920s, when the growth of movies, radio and the automobile was already foreshadowing its decline.[39]

The observant reader will note that nothing has been written in this article about Woonsocket's Franco-American females. In the French Canadian conception of family—highly conservative and traditional—the female's place was in the home, bearing and raising children. Young girls were supposed to center their lives around home and church.[40] Consequently the camaraderie of sports was almost entirely reserved for males.

Sports played a dual and often conflicting role in the ethnic lives of Woonsocket's male Franco-Americans. On the one hand they fostered acculturation to American ways of life by the mixing of nationality groups which inevitably took place in sports.[41] On the other they helped to preserve some ethnic and religious identity by carrying over to the United States the traditional French Canadian interest in hockey and weightlifting and by the ethnic hero worship of leading sports figures such as Napoleon Lajoie. In addition, Franco-American parishes used sports as a recreational means of centering the lives of their parishioners around the church. Finally, the dominance of Franco-Americans in Woonsocket was so great that often their contests contained no outsiders and so became a tool of language maintenance. This numerical dominance also meant that there was probably less ethnic conflict between Woonsocket's Franco-Americans and other nationalities in sports than elsewhere in the United States.

In the long run, the acculturative function of sports among Woonsocket's Franco-Americans may have been as great as the preservation of ethnic identity. In any case, this acculturation came faster as movies, radio and automobiles began to supplant

sports as forms of recreation in the 1920s
and 1930s.

Notes

1. Baseball–Jim Brosnan, *The Long Season* (N.Y., 1960). Jim Bouton, *Ball Four* and *I'm Glad You Didn't Take It Personally* (N.Y., 1970 and 1971).
   Football–Dave Meggysey, *Out of Their League* (N.Y., 1970). Chip Oliver, *High for the Game* (N.Y., 1971). Larry Merchant, *And Every Day You Take Another Bite* (Garden City, 1971). Johnny Sample, *Confessions of a Dirty Ballplayer* (N.Y., 1970).

2. Harold Seymour, *Baseball: The Early Years* and *Baseball: The Golden Age* (N.Y., 1960 and 1971). Second volume lists other scholarly studies in «Bibliographical Note,» 465-471.

3. A notable exception is Dale Somer, *Rise of Sports in New Orleans, 1850-1900* (Baton Rouge, 1972).

4. Rhode Island Bureau of Industrial Statistics, *Advance Sheets of the 1905 Rhode Island State Census: Part Four of the Annual Report for 1906* (Providence, 1907), 18-20. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Abstract of the Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930* (Washington, 1931), 112.

5. Bessie Bloom Wessel, *Ethnic Survey of Woonsocket, Rhode Island* (N.Y., 1970, reprint of 1931 edition), 225. Ralph D. Vicero, «Immigration of French Canadians to New England, 1840-1900: A Geographical Analysis,» unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (University of Wisconsin, 1968), 343. Robert Rumilly, *Histoire des Franco-Américains* (Montreal, 1958), 462.

6. Personal interviews by author with various Franco-Americans and others who lived in Woonsocket prior to 1930, 11-21 March 1971.

7. Seymour, *Baseball: The Golden Age*, passim.

8. Barbara M. Solomon, *Ancestors and Immigrants: A Changing New England Tradition* (Cambridge, 1956), 160-163.

9. Cited in *La Tribune* (Woonsocket), 20 *novembre* 1913.

10. *Woonsocket Call*, «Fiftieth Anniversary Edition,» 1 June 1942.

11. Personal interviews, *La Tribune*, 5 *juillet* and 5 *septembre* 1899, 5 *juillet* 1904, 5 *juillet* 1924.

12. *La Tribune*, 5 *juin* 1905. *Woonsocket Evening Call*, 7 May 1907.

13. *La Tribune*, 4 *juin* 1897, 9 *juin* 1908, 11 *août* 1924.

14. Personal interviews.

15. Personal interviews. T. Curtis Forbes, «French Declines in Woonsocket: Switch Toward English,» *Providence Journal*, 11 January 1965.

16. Woonsocket was also the birthplace of Gabby Hartnett (not a Franco-American), Hall of Fame catcher for the Chicago Cubs from 1922 until 1940. Joe Reichler, *Ronald Encyclopedia of Baseball* (N.Y., 1964), sec. 12:47.
    The most recent Woonsocket Franco-American to play major league baseball is Clem Labine, Brooklyn Dodger relief pitcher of the 1950s, who says that he spoke only French in Woonsocket until age seven. In later years he spoke French less and developed a form of self-hatred due partially to teasing by Italian-American adolescent friends. However Labine showed the typical French Canadian love of birthplace and lack of geographical mobility as he returned to Woonsocket after baseball retirement. He presently works in public relations for the same textile mill in which his French Canadian father worked as a weaver. Roger Kahn, *The Boys of Summer* (N.Y., 1972), 209-233.

17. Rosaire Dion-Lévesque includes a short biography of Lajoie in his collection of adulatory biographies of prominent Franco-Americans, *Silhouettes Franco-Américains* (Manchester, 1957), 460-465. *Woonsocket Evening Call*, 5 July 1894 and 24 June 1895. *La Tribune*, 10 *février* 1896. Reichler, sec. 2:115-116, sec. 9:3 and sec. 12:63.

18. *La Tribune*, 23 *juin* 1898, 28 *avril* 1899, 9 *mai* 1901, 23 *mai* 1905.

19. Lajoie returned home for banquets in 1900 and 1901, to play exhibitions in 1901 and 1922, and to show off his new wife to his mother and relatives in 1907. *La Tribune*, 28 and 30 *sep-*

tembre 1901, 11 *septembre* 1922. *Woonsocket Evening Call,* 13 November 1900, 30 September and 1 October 1901, 10 June 1907.

20. Curt Gowdy on NBC TV Baseball Game of the Week, summer 1970.

21. *La Tribune,* 15 *juillet* 1913.

22. Seymour, *Baseball: The Golden Age,* 156, 172.

23. *La Tribune,* 28 *février* 1899. *Woonsocket Evening Call,* 16 September 1907. *Woonsocket Call,* «Fiftieth Anniversary Edition,» 1 June 1942. Reichler, sec. 12:65, 95.

24. *La Tribune,* passim summers 1901 and 1902, 31 *décembre* 1904 and 22 *février* 1905.

25. *Woonsocket Call,* «Fiftieth Anniversary Edition,» 1 June 1942.

26. For a detailed description of the *Sentinelle* crisis, see Rumilly, 364-459. Hélène Forget, «L'Agitation Sentinelliste au Rhode Island (1924-1929),» unpublished M.A. thesis (Université de Montréal, 1952). Elphège J. Daignault, *Le Vrai Mouvement Sentinelliste en Nouvelle Angleterre, 1923-1929* (Montreal, 1936). J. Albert Foisy, *The Sentinellist Agitation in New England, 1925-1928* (Providence, 1930).

27. Although it is impossible to give an exact translation of this word, it roughly means the preservation of the French Canadian native language and customs.

28. A system whereby each nationality had its own priests and native language in its parishes.

29. *La Sentinelle* (Woonsocket), 26 *juillet* and 30 *août* 1928.

30. Personal interviews.

31. *La Tribune,* 22 *mars,* 3 and 16 *décembre* 1926.

32. *La Tribune,* 23 *décembre* 1926, Mount St. Charles Archives. «Sports Scrapbook, 1921-1931,» 35. *Woonsocket Call,* «Fiftieth Anniversary Edition,» 1 June 1942.

33. *Excelsior* (Mount St. Charles student magazine) 5:1 (Christmas 1929), 21. Mount St. Charles Archives, «Sports Scrapbook, 1921-1931,» 8, 12, 17, 35, 47, 63.

34. George Monteiro, «*Histoire de Montferrand: L'Athlète Canadien* and Joe Muffraw,» *Journal of American Folklore* 73:287 (Jan.-March 1960), 24-34. Federal Writers' Project, *Rhode Island: A Guide to the Smallest State* (Boston, 1937), 101. Jacques Ducharme, *Shadows of the Trees: Story of the French Canadians in New England* (N.Y., 1943), 165. The last two sources apparently accept the legend but Monteiro insists it is only mythical.

35. *La Tribune,* 7 *novembre* and 28 *décembre* 1911, 30 and 31 *décembre* 1912, 3 *novembre* 1913, 9 *mars* 1915, 24 *février* 1917, 7 *septembre* 1920.

36. *La Tribune,* 8 and 11 *mai* 1916.

37. Charles R. Daoust and Eugene Brault, *Histoire des Canadiens-Français du Rhode Island* (Woonsocket, 1895), 101-102. *Woonsocket Evening Call,* 23 February 1895.

38. Jack Kerouac, *Maggie Cassidy* (N.Y., 1959) passim. Kerouac was a second generation Franco-American born in Lowell, who did not learn to speak English until he was seven.

39. Both *La Tribune* and *The Call* (Woonsocket) gave evidence of this increasing importance of movies, radio and the automobile in the 1920s. Advertisements and articles about local showings of movies, local buying and driving of automobiles, and the availability of radio programs increased greatly during the decade.

40. *La Tribune* continually voiced this traditional and conservative view of women in its editorial pages, 18 *février* 1913, 11 *janvier* 1918, 25 *avril* 1925, *et al.*

41. Irwin Child's excellent social psychological study of male Italians in New Haven during the 1930s points out that while first generation Italian-Americans seldom played American sports, their second generation children often enjoyed such recreation. *Italian or American? Second Generation in Conflict* (New Haven, 1943), ch. 2.

STATUS QUESTIONS

One of the factors which George Thériault (cf. Overviews–*Volume II) cites as having been a potent factor in the shaping of an ethnic subcommunity was the fact that the Franco-American population remained, in the nineteenth century, undifferentiated in economic and social status–they were for the most part unskilled wage workers. That this early state of affairs colored and continues to color Franco self-definition as well as their definition by others even in the face of twentieth-century economic and social differentiation, is seen in the following selections on stratification. The first, an essay by Calvin Trillin in* The New Yorker *of December, 1973, accurately portrays the status differences perceived by Franco-Americans in a New England mill town of the nineteen-seventies.*

U.S. JOURNAL: BIDDEFORD, MAINE
Où se trouve la plage?

by

Calvin Trillin

Biddeford is virtually a French city, but nobody has ever thought of calling it the Paris of New England. There is no Mardi Gras. There are no French restaurants. There is no tourist promotion about Gallic charm. The French were brought to Biddeford from Canada to work in the textile mills after the Yankees ran out of Irish. Agents from the mills started recruiting labor from the rural areas of Quebec in the second half of the nineteenth century; in 1969, during a mild spurt in the New England textile industry, they were still recruiting. There is nothing charming about being cheap labor. Although Biddeford is no longer dominated by the textile industry, a French-speaking resident is still likely to identify himself as «the son of a mill hand.» There has been some intermarriage with the Irish, and Roman Catholic churches serving the French have started to offer a sermon or two in English lately. But the French are still conscious of which language has always been spoken by the mill hands and which by the mill owners. The French in Biddeford, with eighty to eighty-five per cent of the population, have had control of City Hall almost constantly since the thirties, but the names of the directors of the First National Bank of Biddeford are Bradford, Harriman, Maxwell, Moore, Truslow, Wooster, and Stevens.

The present mayor, Gilbert Boucher, enjoys talking about what it was like growing up in Biddeford in one of the row houses the mill rented to its workers. A stocky, voluble man in his late forties, Boucher is a general contractor by trade. He drives a bright-blue pickup with American-flag decals on the side windows. He refers to Mrs. Boucher as «the wife.» He is known in Biddeford as being impulsive and quick-tempered. His critics often have called him high-handed, and not even his supporters claim that he is the ideal man to chair a meeting at which it is important that every side be fully heard. But as he came to the end of his second two-year term this fall, he could point to some impressive accomplishments. Just as Boucher took office, in 1970, Biddeford's largest mill closed down most of its operations—removing a thousand jobs from a city of fewer than twenty thousand residents—but a vigorous industrial-development campaign has just about replaced the jobs by attracting a collection of clean and diversified industries. Under the Boucher administration, a Department of Parks and Recreation was established, and a huge park was created on a tract used for years as a dump. Boucher is proud of Biddeford's new mercury street lights and its new electronic fire-alarm system, but he is most proud of the park on the Saco River.

In the old days, Boucher likes to recall, the French in Biddeford had no time for recreation: «Hey, recreation for us was Sunday you were pooped.» The city limits of Biddeford have always included miles of dramatic

Maine coastline. One settlement within the city limits—Biddeford Pool, a sort of peninsula into the Atlantic—had been attracting rich summer people from the cities of the Midwest for as long as the mills had been attracting poor French-Canadians from the villages of Quebec. By the time Boucher was growing up, the summer people in Biddeford Pool had established a golf course and a sort of beach club called the Biddeford Pool Beach Association. But Boucher never went to the beach at Biddeford Pool, and until 1964 he didn't realize the golf course existed. Biddeford Pool is eight or ten miles from the center of the city. Even after the end of the Second World War, when its population was broadened somewhat by new groups of summer people and more year-round residents, it retained the reputation among Biddeford French as a private enclave for rich summer people. When Boucher and his friends wanted to go to the beach before the war, they walked along the railroad tracks to Old Orchard, which had a boardwalk and carnival games.

Boucher, the fourth child in his family, was the first to complete elementary school. Years later, he completed high school as well. «With a little more education and a forty-hour week and some time on our hands—and we've become mobile—we looked around,» he said recently. The world of quiet beaches and summer cottages and golf courses no longer seemed so remote. «We see all these things and we say, 'Hey, we'd like to have an ice-cream cone, too.' And they say, 'No. Private property.'» There had, of course, been resentment in Biddeford for years over who seemed to have all the ice-cream cones, but the city government had never done much about it, except to clear one or two of the dozen or so public rights-of-way it claimed had existed at the beaches before summer people blocked them off. In fact, the French in Biddeford had never used their political power to intrude on the domain of the Yankees—the local Yankees who owned the banks and factories or the summer visitors from Cincinnati and St. Louis and Boston. Gilbert Boucher changed that. This fall, as precipitately as the state law allows, Boucher and his city council took the Pool Beach Association's beach and bathhouse by eminent domain for the people of Biddeford.

A lot of French residents in Biddeford could hardly have been more pleased, unless the Mayor had taken the First National Bank and a mill or two. «The Pool is what is known as for the rich and the capable, and as far as the people of Biddeford, well, we have no business there—our place is to work in these factories and mills and make the city what it is,» one of them said sarcastically at the public hearing that preceded the final vote. «I think this little place we are asking for is well earned and deserved by the city. And we are no longer the peons of the crowd. We share in this country and wealth, and we should, because we are the ones that have earned it with our hands.» The members of the Pool Beach Association were appalled. Looking back on it now, they still tend to use words like «spiteful» and «covetous» to explain the motives of the Mayor and his councilmen. «The affluent haven't learned that they have to share,» Boucher said. During the arguments about taking the beach, some of the councilmen started talking about the possibility of the city's taking the rich summer people's golf course as well.

«They said they had no warning, which is true,» Boucher said later. «Because if I gave them warning, they would have put up so many legal stumbling blocks I wouldn't have been able to find out even who owned the place.» Did Allende warn the copper companies? The first city-council meeting necessary to start the process of seizure by eminent domain was held without the customary notice to the press. The state emi-

nent-domain law requires that the process of taking land for recreational use be started in response to a petition signed by at least thirty citizens; when the reporter for the York County *Coast Star* caught up with the petition asking the city to take action on the beach, he found that eighteen names on it were of people connected with the city government.

The Pool Beach Association people were unwarned, all right, but not unsuspecting. Skirmishes over beach access have increased in past years all along the Maine coast. In the summer communities within the city limits of Biddeford, even beach cottages that look as if they once had signs on them saying «Sun'n'Fun» or «The Bank and Us» now have signs saying «No Trespassing» or «Private Property.» In the section of Biddeford Pool where most of the Beach Association families live—a collection of rambling old weather-shingled summer houses sometimes called the Gold Coast, the wrought-iron post erected to hold the sign that points down St. Martin's Lane to St. Martin's-in-the-Field and says «The Episcopal Church Welcomes You» has a second sign on it that says «No Trespassing. Private Club. Members and Registered Guests Only.» The Association's assets formerly consisted of fourteen hundred feet of beachfront, but six hundred feet of it was sold two years ago as plots for five private houses. Could it be, some Biddeford residents wondered, that even rich summer people are sometimes forced to subdivide for some ready cash? No. In fact, the lots were sold—to friends—because the Pool Beach Association had been advised that land with private houses on it would be more protected than undeveloped land from the pressures of public acquisition.

The city's own planning board had to approve the subdivision, of course, and it did so, its members now say, under the impression that the road being built for the houses would be used as an additional public access to the beach. A road was built, at a spot the public had sometimes used to walk across the dunes to the beach, but last spring a «Private Road» sign went up on a fence erected next to it. The Pool Beach Association claims that Biddeford residents have always been able to walk to the beach down a separate path near its bathhouse. Anyone, in fact, could rent a stall in the bathhouse—if, that is, he could find it down an unmarked road and was not put off by the «No Trespassing» and «Parking for Members Only» signs and felt comfortable in the presence of Episcopalian summer people from Cincinnati. «Well,» one of the Association members said recently, «we don't have a tour director out there.»

A couple of months after the new «Private Road» sign went up, a public beach in Kennebunkport that has traditionally been used by Biddeford people banned parking for non-residents—a policy that was later changed, but not before it had ruined a day at the beach for the wife and family of the Biddeford city council's president. Biddeford had five hundred feet of public beach, but in recent years it has tended to disappear at high tide. According to Boucher, the citizens of Biddeford, frustrated by signs and parking restrictions and the vagaries of the Maine tides, finally brought pressure on their government to acquire a true public beach. In the other view, of course, Biddeford's taking of the Biddeford Pool beach from the summer people was motivated by need for additional public shorefront to about the same extent that India's taking of Goa from the Portuguese was motivated by need for additional public shorefront—except that the water around Goa is warm enough to swim in.

At the public meeting held in conformity with the state law on eminent domain, Mayor Boucher opened by saying, «I would

like to welcome all of you people here, and, of course, it's going to be a little difficult to try to keep tempers down.» The summer people, in fact, controlled their tempers quite well. It was suggested that the money the beach project would cost Biddeford might be better spent on a year-round swimming pool, or, at least, that the recreational needs and desires of the citizens might be surveyed. It was suggested that the statements about summer people being carpetbaggers were unfair. «The summer people are hurt,» said Harold Carroll, a local attorney of Irish descent, who is thought of by some Biddeford residents as a sort of token townie for the Gold Coast crowd. «They came here in the eighteen-seventies—their great-grandfathers, grandmothers, their mothers, fathers, and children—and they are here today. They own property at Biddeford Pool. They have contributed greatly to the economic benefit of our city of Biddeford—and I defy any merchant to say otherwise—over the years. They have responded most generously to all of the charities that Biddeford ever instituted, from the United Fund to our institutions.» Being hurt had, ironically, caused the summer people to become «even more generous than they have indicated in the past,» Carroll said, alluding to a compromise the Association was prepared to offer. «I know that if you gentlemen—the Mayor and city council—will investigate the alternatives that are available to you, you will provide the people of the city of Biddeford with adequate access to their beach, and it will cost you little or nothing, as a result of the further charity of the people of Biddeford Pool.»

The compromise sounded generous indeed. The Association offered to share its parking lot at the bathhouse with the city. It would guarantee public access to the beach. It would stipulate that if the sharing arrangement had not worked out to the city's satisfaction after a year the land would be sold to the city at 1973 valuation—an important point, since the assessment company now reëvaluating shorefront land in Biddeford has predicted that valuations (and taxes) will go up six to twelve times when its report is completed. Mayor Boucher and some of the councilmen said that the summer people offered too little too late. The Mayor later gave a number of reasons for rejecting the compromise—that it was only a stall to give the summer people time to apply political pressure, for instance, or that it would provide only twenty or so parking spaces for Biddeford residents, or that the summer people have shown that they can't be trusted. But could the Mayor accept any compromise—particularly any compromise offered as charity—that would leave the summer people in control and the Biddeford people allowed in on sufferance? Biddeford, after all, is a place where talk about the rich summer people always gets around to remarks like «They think we're all a bunch of clowns» or «They say we don't know how to swim anyway.» When Biddeford people talk about the beach, they talk about citizens being ordered off legal rights-of-way by summer people. They tell stories about how Mayor William (Papa Bill) Lausier, who ran Biddeford from 1941 to 1955, responded to being told by summer people to move his car from an area in which large rocks had been painted white to indicate no parking by calling the Street Department and having the rocks hauled away while he stood there. («They didn't put those white rocks back for a long time—not until Bill Lausier got out of office.» «They got a lot of patience, those people.») Mayor Boucher has said that accepting the compromise would just mean endless arguments—who uses which parking space, who uses which path. «If we are the owners, we control it,» he says. «Maybe you're out there with your children, say, and one of them has to use the bathroom, and someone says, 'You people here use this bathroom. You can't use this one.' If the

city owned it, everyone uses the same bathroom.»

After the members of the Biddeford city council had voted, ten to one, to take the Association's land by eminent domain, Mayor Boucher, accompanied by a policeman, rode out to Biddeford Pool to present the president of the Association with a check for two hundred and fifty thousand dollars—the middle figure of three assessments the city had obtained. The Association sent back the check. Lawyers for the summer people began contesting the city's action in court, on several grounds. To the political leaders of Biddeford, though, the taking of the beach was a *fait accompli*—a phrase most of them have no trouble pronouncing. Public support seemed qualified only by some grumbling about the money involved, two hundred and fifty thousand dollars not being the sort of sum the Biddeford residents are accustomed to spending for recreational property. It is said that during the reign of Papa Bill Lausier, whose political philosophy was built on the tenet of no raise in taxes, a hundred dollars a year was budgeted for recreation and was always returned intact to the general fund at the end of the fiscal year.

The Biddeford paper and the York County *Coast Star* had reacted to the taking of the beach with approval for what the Mayor had done to insure public access to beaches and with some reservations about the way he did it—the sudden use of a governmental device that is normally used only as a last resort, the absence of a thorough study on recreational needs, the atmosphere of a coup rather than a considered civic decision. Later, the *Coast Star*, in particular, began to reflect some concern about precisely how the Mayor intended to develop the beach and what environmental effects the development would have. «The taking, after all, is surely supposed to be a means to an end,» the *Coast Star* had written in its editorial approving of the beach-taking. «And we've heard all about the means but precious little about the end.» The subdividing of the land two years ago somewhat weakens one of the environmental arguments normally heard in such controversies—an argument that amounts to saying that a natural resource such as a beach is safe in the hands of rich people with good taste, who will care for it in the same way they care for their furniture and their automobiles and their sailboats. But the summer people can quote expert opinion holding that a public beach should have many more acres of supporting land per beachfront foot than the Biddeford Pool property has. There have also been, as the *Coast Star's* editorial indicated, expert recomendations that municipalities and counties and states buy beachfront land immediately, before the price becomes prohibitive and the shore is lost to private developers. Did the Mayor, a man who says he prefers action to studies, accomplish in the heat of the moment what a commission would have advised him to do anyway? Or did he merely give the mill hands revenge on the rich people by spending public money on a beach that the taxpayers may not have wanted but may destroy anyway?

The answer, it turns out, will not be discovered under a Gilbert Boucher administration. In a quiet Democratic primary last month, Boucher, to the surprise of just about everyone in Biddeford, lost by sixty-two votes to Lucien Dutremble, a grocer whose brother is the local sheriff. The beach takeover did not seem to be an important issue. In fact, the primary was the kind of campaign in which it was difficult to identify an issue. Dutremble did not speak against the takeover, but has said he would examine the situation. There is some feeling in Biddeford that he might at least be willing to consider the Beach Pool Association's compromise. Boucher is confident that the beach takeover will not be rescinded by a new

council or reversed in court. He considers the taking of the Biddeford Pool beach one of the great accomplishments of his administration. Biddeford is best known in Maine municipal-government circles now, after all, not for being a pacesetter in street lighting or industrial-park construction but for being the first city to take a summer-people's beach by eminent domain. «Hey,» Gilbert Boucher said recently, «we may be pioneers.»

This excerpt from Elin Anderson's We Americans *presents us with a 1930 view of French-Americans in Burlington, Vermont. To some extent, this community's perception of Franco's is probably an indication of how French-Americans were viewed in many other communities in New England when the French-Canadian-descent population was substantial but not in the majority.*

ETHNIC STRATIFICATION IN THE COMMUNITY

by

Elin L. Anderson

Walking along the streets in Burlington, the visitor sees nothing in the appearance of the citizens to remind him of the not-too-distant past when the shawl or apron of a foreigner was a usual part of an American street scene. The women he sees dress in identical styles of similar materials, wear their lipstick in the same way, and have the same swirl in their new permanent waves; the men, too, dress alike, in casual suits not too carefully pressed. Nor does their activity give any impression of cleavages in the community, of barriers separating group from group. On a Saturday night, for example, with stores open until nine or half-past, the citizens of Burlington, the farmers from the country, and visitors from nearby towns, all mingle together. They are going to a Saturday movie, doing last-minute shopping, or just being downstreet with the crowd. It is the end of the working week and there is a relaxed, carefree buoyancy about the group as they go in and out of the chain stores, department stores, five-and-ten-cent stores, along the main street. They rub shoulders together, give a cheery greeting, stop for a few minutes visit, laugh over the jostlings of the crowd. In this moment of common activity they all bear the stamp of Americans.

But to a Yankee farmer they are not all alike. To him Burlington has a lot of foreigners... Going into a store he may be greeted by a proprietor... While waiting to be served he may listen to an animated conversation between the clerk and customer only to realize suddenly that he is listening to a foreign language. «French,» he probably decides, as he turns to give his order. He goes into another store to be waited on by the Jewish proprietor, and comes out a little fearful lest he may have met his match in bargaining. If he stays in town for lunch, he will have to look hard along the main street to find a restaurant which is not Greek, Syrian, or Chinese, or run by some other «foreigner.» It is only when he goes into the bank that he can breathe easily, knowing that here he is still on Yankee ground.

Burlingtonians themselves are occasionally interested in speculating on the extent to which the city is no longer an Old American community. The Federal Census gives them some picture of the changes: according to the figures... 40 per cent of the population of 24,789 are either immigrants or children of immigrants, 12 per cent being foreign-born and 28 per cent of foreign or mixed parentage. This group of immigrants and children of immigrants is composed of several elements. The French-Canadian, with 4,895 members, is the largest; it comprises one-half of all the people of foreign stock belonging to the first and second generations, and one-fifth of all the people of the community. The next largest group is that of English-speaking Canadians, who number some 1,208 persons. The Irish come next with 1,102; and the Russians and Poles (most of

whom are Jews) come fourth with 741 persons. Other groups of some size are the English, with 457 members; the Italian, 392; and the German, 309. In addition to these, twenty-nine other nationalities are represented in lesser numbers.

The Census, however, does not tell the whole story, for it does not distinguish the nationality or stock of the grandchildren of immigrants. It is therefore only by a count of the three Catholic parishes—two French-Canadian and one Irish—that a more comprehensive picture may be obtained of the size of the ethnic groups of the city which have been here for more than two generations.

Such a count reveals that the French-Canadian element is much larger than it appears to be from the Census enumeration. By the priests' estimate there are in St. Joseph's, the first French-Canadian parish, some 6,000 souls of French-Canadian stock; in St. Anthony's, some 1,500; and in Cathedral, the English-speaking parish, at least 2,000. Hence, according to this count, the people of French-Canadian stock number approximately 9,500 and comprise almost two-fifths of the total population of the city. In Cathedral, the English-speaking parish, there are also some 5,000 persons of Irish stock, and 1,000 Italians, Syrians, and persons of other smaller groups. In this Yankee community, therefore, 15,500 persons, more than three-fifths of the population, are members of ethnic groups identified with the Roman Catholic faith; and when to this total is added the Jewish group, numbering 800 persons, the elements foreign to the Old Yankee stock are found to comprise 66 per cent of the population of the city.

This does not mean that the remaining 34 per cent is a «pure» Yankee group. Rather, it, too, is composed largely of foreign elements, though of kindred ethnic stocks—English, English Canadians, Germans—with the Old Americans themselves, those of the fourth generation or more in this country, making up an extremely small part of the extremely small part of the population of the city. Their ranks are reenforced by the peoples of the related ethnic stocks who are of the Protestant faith, and it is chiefly as Protestants in contrast with Roman Catholics that these form a cohesive group.

The city itself is interested in the whole question from the point of view of the comparative size of each religious, rather than of each ethnic, group. Speculation as to the proportion of Protestants to Catholics is a frequent topic of conversation; an old Protestant Yankee does not like to think that he is being crowded out by these newer peoples of a strange faith, and it is with apprehension that he estimates that the proportion by now may be 50–50, while an Irish Catholic, interested in the growing strength of the peoples of his communion, estimates the ratio at 60–40 in favor of the Catholic group.

The surprise with which the average Yankee in Burlington greets the information that his community is largely of foreign stock attests to the fact that Burlington wasn't always like this and that the change that has come over it came so gradually as to be almost imperceptible. The first settlers, to whom the charter of the town was granted in 1763, were adventurous Yankees who built up a prosperous timber trade with Europe via Lake Champlain and Quebec. Later a few French Canadians came down from across the border, but not until 1812 was there a sufficient number of them, 100, for the Catholic See at Boston to send up a priest to be their pastor. They intruded very little on the community; and it was not until 1849, with the building of the railroads, that some Irishmen came to town and made the Yankees aware that there were «Furriners» on the land. The story goes that when two gangs of Irishmen working on railroads met at Burlington a serious quarrel arose between those from County Cork and those

from County Connaught, the upshot of which was that a number quit their jobs rather than work with the Irish from another county, and, finding other work in Burlington, decided to build their homes there.

Between 1860 and 1875 the influx of foreigners increased with the boom in the lumber industry. The demand for laborers brought many French Canadians and Irishmen; by 1880 there was a small colony of Germans; by 1885 there were enough Jews to support a synagogue, and by 1890 a group of Italians had come in to dig sewers, and to build roads at the military post situated five miles from Burlington. In the late nineties Burlington felt the reverberations of the wave of immigration which brought hundreds of new Americans from southeastern Europe: a Greek started a restaurant, a Syrian set up a fruit store. Thus by the turn of the century the character of Burlington had altered markedly from that of its early beginnings. The change since then has been slower. The only continuous movement of recent times has been that of the French Canadians who still come down across the border to find work in the textile mills which were Burlington's last gesture toward becoming an industrial city before it settled into its present character as a commercial and educational center.

The role played by each of the main ethnic groups in the life of the community is in part dictated by its historical place in the development of the city and in part by the essential motivation of the group—what it selects out of American life to make its own, what essentially it contributes to the larger community. In order to appreciate the life of the community and the place of each group in that life, it is necessary to make some analysis of the role of each.

Every community contains its corps of people who consider themselves its charter members. They have determined its nature, created its organizations, fostered its development. In Burlington this corps consists of Old American Protestants—the Yankees, as they still are called. They have always lived there, they love the place, they own it. No matter what changes may come over the city, no matter how far it has lost its early character, they watch over its development and growth with a certain sense of responsibility born of the feeling of proprietorship. This feeling is justified in a sense by the fact that most of the institutions around which the life of the city centers today were founded by their forefathers. These had, immediately upon their settling in 1763, set up a town government and public schools, and, as early as 1791, the University of Vermont. After these agencies symbolic of the principles of free government had been established, they turned their attention to the organization of a religious society, which was formed in 1805. Today the descendants of these Old Americans have to a large extent retreated from the commercial life of the city, but they still control the banks, most of the city's manufacturing, and the University. Furthermore, they have through their institutions, and aided by the fact that the immigrant «invasion» was never great enough to threaten their position of dominance, set an indelible stamp upon the life of the community...

The small Old American group has been helped to maintain its predominant position by the strength of its traditional feeling of the racial superiority of the Anglo-Saxon. As one woman, concerned about a more successful interrelationship between the various ethnic groups of the community, explained: «Of course you do believe that the English are the finest people yet produced on earth. You do believe that they have the most admirable human qualities and abilities that any people have ever had!» Interestingly enough, the newer peoples on the whole ac-

cept the Old Americans at their own valuation, perhaps partly because the premium placed on conformity to standards already set has not permitted them to value their own standards and interpretations of America. At any rate, they always speak highly of the Old Americans as fine people with superior ability, shrewd businessmen, and leaders of the community; though some qualify their appreciation by commenting that the Old Americans tend to be snobbish and ingrown, and that they place undue emphasis upon the forms of their culture, which they expect all newer peoples to emulate. The criticism, however, is always good-humoredly qualified by: «But they can't help themselves, you know. A Yankee just is like that. You have to accept that when dealing with him.»

Traditions of family and name, of power and influence in the financial and civic life of the community, of race consciousness, plus a very deep conviction that the Protestant traditions of their forefathers are basically important to the development of free institutions in America, set the Old Americans apart as a group distinct from other people. Within that group there are the usual divisions of classes and cliques, of rich and poor; but the common elements of culture and tradition give an impression of a common unit in relation to other ethnic groups in the community. The Old Americans are charter members; they give a kindly welcome to newcomers, as behooves people of their position, but they expect in return the respect that is due charter members. One who can claim even remote blood connections with any of the group is cordially welcomed without question; he is «one of us,» while one who cannot claim such connection is «accepted» only as he obeys the forms and the codes of the group, because, after all, he is «not one of us.»

Freed from the kind of economic pressure that is known to a great proportion of the people in the other groups, the Old Americans are concerned primarily with «nice living.» Their interests and activities connect them with persons outside the community more than with those within; thus they have broad views, wide interests in the arts, literature, and even international relations. In the community, however, their interest is in keeping their place and their prerogatives; their influence tends to preserve the *status quo* and puts a check on too rapid an invasion from the lower ranks into their society.

The Irish are the leaders of the opposition. With the same fighting spirit that they showed in Ireland against the English, under the banner of their religion and their political party they aggressively assert their difference from the Old Americans and take it upon themselves to champion the rights of the immigrant, casting their lot not with the dominant element but with the «have nots.» This role for a people who speak the English language and identify themselves more or less with the English tradition has made for a conflicting situation even more complex than that known to their forefathers in Ireland.

Wherever they have settled in America the Irish have set up such conflict situations, but nowhere more so than in New England. Their criticism of all things English and their loyalty to the Roman Catholic Church went deeply against the grain of the descendants of the Yankee settlers, who were proud of their English origin and traditions and of the independence of religious thought expressed in Protestantism. As a result, to many Old Americans the Irish have epitomized differences in social philosophy which are deeply opposed to the English and Protestant principles upon which this country's institutions were built. To be an Irishman—a Papist and a Democrat—is as a red flag to a bull to

many a Puritan Yankee. The failure of each to appreciate the other or to understand the principles for which the other stands is the basic tragedy which disturbs the equanimity of any community where Irish and Old Americans are found together.

In Burlington also the Irish have assumed the role of champions of political justice for the newer immigrant groups and leaders of the Catholic Church in America, while at the same time they have a strong conviction that as the Old American political leadership diminishes the Irish will be the inevitable leaders in the political and civic life of the community. . .

The role chosen by the Irish is beset with many difficulties. On the one hand, the newer elements at times find the leadership of the Irish officious and irksome;on the other hand, the older elements sometimes find them pushing and carry over from their English forebears a distrust of their dependability. As a whole, however, the Irish are spoken of highly by all groups, with qualifications such as those indicated in the comments: «The Irish are loyal and faithful first to their church, second to their kind. When these obligations have been fulfilled, they make excellent citizens, contributing to the best of the community.»

The difference between the French Canadians and the other groups in Burlington cannot be understood without a recognition of the attitude with which the French Canadians regard the territory itself. They may not proclaim it from the housetops, but to them Burlington is a French city and they are its true citizens. To all of New England they have felt a peculiar claim. After all, they say, was it not French explorers and priests who opened up much of the country? Did not Samuel de Champlain discover this very territory, and were not the French the first white settlers on the shores of Lake Champlain? Certainly a military conquest could not entirely take away the feeling that they have a right to to this territory. . .

With this belief deep within them, their settling in New England has differed from that of other people. Their migration has been a «peaceful penetration» across an imaginary line; indeed, at first their migration was largely seasonal. Some Burlingtonians still recall the trainloads of French Canadians, through with their work on the farms, who would arrive each fall to work in the lumber yards and mills and after staying for a short season to earn, as they said, some of the gold and silver that America had to offer, would return to their poor Canadian farms. On the farms of Quebec, as in Europe, «The States» was pictured as a land with streets of gold. Gradually they began to lengthen their stay here from one season to two, from two seasons to three; then they came for a period of two of three years, until they settled permanently. When they did, it was not so much like settling in a new land as extending the boundaries of the old. The tie with Canada has always remained strong, partly because the short distance to the home land makes close contact possible, partly because the continued migration without restriction of French Canadians has constantly reenforced the Canadian national spirit.

Although they are French, they differ markedly from the Frenchman of today and are, in habit of thought and behavior, more closely akin to his forebears. They have been separated from France for over 170 years and have known nothing of the great liberalizing movements, such as the French Revolution, the great literary revolution, and other upheavals which have so greatly influenced modern France. Their way of life in Canada has therefore remained essentially that of a simple peasant folk whose most vital cultural element has been their religion; as in any primitive society, the forms of that religion govern every aspect of their lives. This circumstance has made far more for docility and obedience to rules than it has for the

quality of individual enterprise and responsibility considered characteristic of America. They have willingly accepted the leadership of the parish priest as their forebears did two centuries ago. In the French-Canadian community around the cotton mill in Burlington, today, the priest is spiritual guide, lawyer, doctor, friend, and comforter, to his people. Such complete acceptance of a single cultural force has resulted, in the estimation of many students, in a lack of interest in other forms of development, a result manifested in the lack of schools and free libraries in French Canada.

In Burlington those of French Canadian descent form a bloc of nearly ten thousand people. . . As a peaceful, unaggressive people they have won to some extent the sympathy of the Yankee group, whose social and economic position is not threatened by their advancement. This Yankee sympathy is based partly on the belief that they have had to submit to Irish leadership in religious organization and partly on the belief that they have been held back in Canada as a conquered people. There is also in it, however, something of the attitude of an adult to a child, an appreciation of their warm, earthy simplicity and a delight in the «quaint» aspects of their behavior, as presented in the poems of Rowland Robinson. But this attitude is accompanied by a rejection of some of the very qualities which make them charming.

The Jews, destined to be dispersed among all peoples on the face of the earth, have a quota of 800 in Burlington. With a long history of persecution and suffering behind them, they have sought to find a place of freedom for the oppressed. Perhaps the principles on which this country was based have meant no more to any group than to the Jews. The intensity of feeling may be seen in part by the remark of one Jewish woman who said: «The first thing I did when I came to America was to kiss the ground. This was a free land—my country. Here there would be no more pogroms.»

In Burlington they have pursued the dual role the Jews have had to assume in America as much as in any other country. On the one hand much of their life is within the group, centered around the synagogue and the Talmud Torah, for even in America though they may enjoy equality before the law, they know discrimination born of prejudices ingrained for centuries in the Gentile mind. On the other hand, showing their appreciation of the liberty that America offers, they actively participate in all civic and philanthropic enterprises. In Burlington their presence is being more and more felt, and some people worry that their influence is becoming an irritant in the life of the community; but their role essentially is that of the impersonal outsider whose support is sought in times of intra-community conflict between the two main branches of the Christian faith.

The Germans have nearly as much right as the Yankees to the claim of first citizens of Burlington. When Ira Allen came in 1773 he found two Germans settled on the shores of Shelburne Point. According to Allen, they «had the appearance of peaceable men, and on their promise to behave were suffered to remain undisturbed.» Whether because of this «peaceableness» or because their numbers have never been large, the Germans have quickly become almost indistinguishable from the rest of the community. Today they number 300 persons, but it was not until 1880 that enough of them found their way from the surrounding towns to form a little German neighborhood in the city. Those who came were largely from one section of the country, Silesia, where they had been farmers, weavers, and artisans; in Burlington they fitted into the lumber mills and trades. The German love of music, of intellectual

discussions, and especially of *Gemütlichkeit* led them to organize as early as 1891 a German club, a branch of the National Order of Harugari, which is still the center of German social life in the town. It aims to preserve and transmit to the second and third generation an appreciation of German culture.

Two Italians reached Burlington in 1890. A few years later, while working under their padrones on the Delaware and Hudson Railroad on the New York side of the lake, some came over in search of a suitable location for their families. When they found that in Burlington they could secure work in building some of the streets and sewers, they decided to settle. For some time, while there was work on the roads and in building the nearby army post, there were more Italians in Burlington than there are at present. Now, though few in number, they are not a compact group—the three or four families from northern Italy distinguishing themselves from the majority who have come from the southern part. Unlike the Irish or the French Canadians, they have made no effort to center their life around a church of their own. This is due partly to their small number, but also partly to traditions of a state-supported church which make Italians slow to establish and support a church of their own. They are more or less lost in the English-speaking parish; and only at times of baptisms, funerals, and marriages do they feel the need of seeking the services of a French Canadian priest who is well versed in Italian. In 1934, for the first time, they organized an Italian club. This has been an important social center for all the Italians in Burlington and Winooski, and an educational force aiming to make them feel at home in America and understand its way and laws.

Representatives of other peoples have added their peculiar qualities to Burlington, but they are too few to form distinctive groups, or they have already fused into the larger blend. The English and English Canadians, with traditions so similar to those of the Old Americans, have merged with that group. Syrians and Greeks, part of the last great migration from southeastern Europe, are few in number. The Syrians comprise some thirty families, the first of whom came to Burlington in 1895; they have established no church of their own but have become members of the English-speaking Roman Catholic parish; their unity is expressed through the social activities of the Lady of Mount Lebanon Society. The Greeks number some twenty families, or 130 persons; one or two Greeks were in Burlington in 1902 in small fruit stores and restaurants. The Greeks remain individualistic, and come together as a group only on special occasions, as when a Greek Orthodox priest comes to town; ordinarily they attend the Episcopal Church, which has been the most hospitable to them as well as nearest in teaching to their own. The American Hellenic Educational Patriotic Association is an important force in uniting all the Greeks of Vermont, emphasizing pride in the Greek heritage. Other people, such as Norwegians, Swedes, Finns, Armenians, Turks, Negroes, and some representatives of seventeen other nationality groups, are too few in number to do much more than add a touch of color to the pageant of peoples who have found their way to Burlington.

The life of all these people is the story of the process of becoming at home in the ever-changing, increasingly complex, American world. They are all intent on realizing the hopes and dreams which America has symbolized to them or their forebears. Each group, according to its need, clings to its customs and traditions as to things assured in an unsure world; each has had to realize that this country has welcomed not only its own group but also those that have been traditional enemies. Only slowly has each realized that the large economic and social forces af-

fecting all America are drawing them all together in common concerns: all are concerned with earning a living, bringing up their children, keeping up their religious practices; all hope that their children may realize what they did not enjoy; all hope for a little fun; all worry over their old age.

In the process of adjusting to their new American environment, different potentialities within the groups have been brought out—special interests in educational training, in the kinds of jobs they have taken. Thus, slowly, new divisions are arising within the groups; and those with similar interests have begun to reach across barriers of nationality or religion, which once were all-important in American life. Now divisions are being formed. The old, however, those of nationality or religion, may often color these new developments, especially as each group has not fully realized the sense of freedom that it hoped to find in America.

In Burlington it is possible to observe the advances and checks experienced by each group in its attempt to share in the common life of the community and to see therein the part that these early differences in America play in the new cleavages which inevitably form in a more settled society. It is possible to see the advantages and the disadvantages of preserving the old lines against the rapid social change in the world about us.

The American Sociological Review of February, 1959, carried an important article by Bernard C. Rosen on stratification within American communities. Rosen found the Franco-Americans along the lower end of rankings of six New England ethnic groups in achievement motivation, achievement value orientation and vocational aspirations. We are not told how he chose his sample, but he does proceed to use the data as if he had been able to obtain a representative sampling of the Franco's along with the other ethnic groups. For those who wish to attempt a valid and more accurate definition of Franco-Americans, however, this study would seem to cry out for replication with a definitely representative sample of New England Franco's.

RACE, ETHNICITY AND THE ACHIEVEMENT SYNDROME

by

Bernard C. Rosen

The upward mobility rates of many racial and ethnic groups in America have been markedly dissimilar when compared with one another and with some white Protestant groups. For example, among the «new immigration» groups which settled primarily in the Northeast, the Greeks and Jews have attained middle class status more rapidly than most of their fellow immigrants. In general, ethnic groups with Roman Catholic affiliation have moved up less rapidly than non-Catholic groups. And the vertical mobility of Negroes, even in the less repressive environment of the industrial Northeast, has been relatively slow.[1]

The reasons offered to explain these differences vary with the group in question. Thus, differences in group mobility rates have sometimes been interpreted as a function of the immigrant's possession of certain skills which were valuable in a burgeoning industrial society. In this connection, there is some evidence that many Jews came to America with occupational skills better suited to urban living than did their fellow immigrants. Social mobility seems also to be related to the ability of ethnic and racial groups to organize effectively to protect and promote their interests. Both the Greeks and the Jews were quicker to develop effective community organizations than were other immigrants who had not previously faced the problem of adapting as minority groups. For the Jews, this situation grew out of their experiences with an often hostile gentile world; for the Greeks, out of their persecutions by the Turks. The repressiveness of the social structure or the willingness of the dominant groups to permit others to share in the fruits of a rich, expanding economy has also been given as an explanation of differential group mobility. This argument has merit in the case of Negroes, but it is less valid in a comparison of the Jews with Southern Italians or French-Canadians. Finally, it has been suggested that groups with experiences in small town or urban environments were more likely to possess the cultural values appropriate to achievement in American society than were ethnic and racial groups whose cultures had been formed in rural, peasant surroundings. Here, again, it has been noted that many Jews and a small but influential number of Levantine Greeks had come from small towns or cities, while most of the Roman Catholic immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe (and Southern Negroes before their migration to the North) came from rural communities.[2]

As valid as these explanations may be—and we believe they have merit—they overlook one important factor: ***the individual's psychological and cultural orientation towards achievement;*** by which we mean his psychological need to excel, his desire to enter the competitive race for social status, and his initial possession of or willingness to adopt the high valuation placed upon per-

sonal achievement and success which foreign observers from Tocqueville to Laski have considered an important factor in the remarkable mobility of individuals in American society.

Three components of this achievement orientation are particularly relevant for any study of social mobility. The first is a psychological factor, *achievement motivation*, which provides the internal impetus to excel in situations involving standards of excellence. The second and third components are cultural factors, one consisting of certain *value orientations* which implement achievement-motivated behavior, the other of culturally influenced *educational-vocational aspiration levels*. All three factors may affect status achievement; one moving the individual to excel, the others organizing and directing his behavior towards high status goals. This motive-value-aspiration complex has been called the *Achievement Syndrome*.[3]

It is the basic hypothesis of this study that many racial and ethnic groups were not, and are not now, alike in their orientation toward achievement, particularly as it is expressed in the striving for status through social mobility, and that this difference in orientation has been an important factor contributing to the dissimilarities in their social mobility rates. Specifically, this paper examines the achievement motivation, values, and aspirations of members of six racial and ethnic groups. Four of these are «new immigration» ethnic groups with similar periods of residence in this country who faced approximately the same economic circumstances upon arrival: the French-Canadians, Southern Italians, Greeks, and East European Jews. The fifth is the Negro group in the Northeast, the section's largest «racial» division. The last, and in some ways the most heterogeneous, is the native-born white Protestant group. Contributing to the fact that these six groups have not been equally mobile, we suggest, are differences in the three components of the achievement syndrome: their incidence is highest among Jews, Greeks, and white Protestants, lower among Southern Italians and French-Canadians, and lowest among Negroes.

RESEARCH PROCEDURE

The data were collected from a purposive sample of 954 subjects residing in 62 communities in four Northeastern states: 51 in Connecticut, seven in New York, three in New Jersey, and one in Massachusetts. The subjects are 427 pairs of mothers and their sons: 62 pairs are French-Canadians, 74 are Italians, 47 are Greeks, 57 are Jews, 65 are Negroes, and 122 are white Protestants. Most subjects were located through the aid of local religious, ethnic, or service organizations, or through their residence in neighborhoods believed to be occupied by certain groups. The subject's group membership was determined ultimately by asking the mothers in personal interviews to designate their religion and land of national origin. The interviewers, all of whom were upper-classmen enrolled in two sociology classes, were instructed to draw respondents from various social strata.[4] The respondent's social class position was determined by a modified version of Hollingshead's Index of Social Position, which uses occupation and education of the main wage-earner, usually the father, as the principal criteria of status. Respondents were classified according to this index into one of five social classes, from the highest status group (Class I) to the lowest (Class V).[5] Most of the mothers and all of the sons are native-born, the sons ranging in age from eight to 14 years (the mean age is about 11 years). There are no significant age differences between the various groups.

Two research instruments were a projective test to measure achievement motivation and a personal interview to obtain information on achievement value orientations and

related phenomena. Achievement motivation has been defined by McClelland and his associates as a redintegration of affect aroused by cues in situations involving standards of excellence. Such standards usually are imparted to the individual by his parents, who impart the understanding that they expect him to perform well in relation to these standards of excellence, rewarding him for successful endeavor and punishing him for failure. In time he comes to have similar expectations of himself when exposed to situations involving standards of excellence and re-experiences the affect associated with his earlier efforts to meet these standards. The behavior of people with high achievement motivation is characterized by persistent striving and general competitiveness.

Using a Thematic Apperception Test, McClelland and his associates have developed a method of measuring the achievement motive that involves identifying and counting the frequency with which imagery about evaluated performance in competition with a standard of excellence appears in the thoughts of a person when he tells a brief story under time pressure. This imagery now can be identified objectively and reliably. The test assumes that the more the individual shows indications of connections between evaluated performance and affect in his fantasy, the greater the degree to which achievement motivation is part of his personality.[6] This projective test, which involves showing the subject four ambiguous pictures and asking him to tell a story about each, was given privately and individually to the sons in their homes. Their imaginative responses to the pictures were scored by two judges; the Pearson product moment correlation between the two scorings was .86, an estimate of reliability similar to those reported in earlier studies using this measure.

Following the boys' testing, their mothers were interviewed privately. The interview guide included several standardized questions designed to indicate the mother's achievement value orientations, her educational and vocational aspirations for her son, and the degree to which she had trained him to be independent.

FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATION

Achievement Motivation-Empirical studies have shown that achievement motivation is generated by (at least) two kinds of socialization practices: (1) ***achievement training***, in which the parents, by imposing standards of excellence upon tasks, by setting high goals for their child, and by indicating their high evaluation of his competence to do a task well, communicate to him that they expect evidences of high achievement; (2) ***independence training***, in which the parents indicate to the child that they expect him to be self-reliant and, at the same time, grant him relative autonomy in decision-making situations where he is given both freedom of action and responsibility for success or failure. Essentially, achievement training is concerned with getting the child to *do things well*, while independence training seeks to teach him to do things *on his own*. Although both kinds often occur together and each contributes to the development of achievement motivation, achievement training is the more important of the two.[7]

Two bodies of information—ethnographic studies of the «old world» or non-American culture and recent empirical investigations of the training practices used by Americans of various ethnic backgrounds—strongly indicate that the six groups examined here, in the past and to some extent today, differ with respect to the degree to which their members typically emphasize achievement and independence training. Ethnic differences in these matters were first studied by McClelland, who noted that the linkage between independence training and achievement motivation established by recent empirical studies suggests an interesting parallel with Weber's classic description of the characterological consequences of the Protestant Reformation. Weber reasoned, first, concerning salvation, that an important aspect of the Protestant theological position was the shift from reliance on an institution (the Church) to a greater reliance upon self; it seemed rea-

sonable to assume that Protestant parents who prepared their children for increased self-reliance in religious matters would also tend to stress the necessity for the child to be self-reliant in other aspects of his life. Secondly, Weber's description of the personality types produced by the Reformation is strikingly similar to the pictue of the person with high achievement motivation; for example, the hard-working, thrifty Protestant working girl, the Protestant entrepreneur who «gets nothing out of his wealth for himself except the irrational sense of having done his job well.»[8]

The hypothesis deduced from these observations was put to the test by McClelland, who questioned white Protestant, Irish-Catholic, Italian-Catholic, and Jewish mothers about their independence training practices. He found that Protestants and Jews favored earlier independence training than Irish and Italian Catholics.[9] These findings are supported and enlarged upon by data derived from questioning the 427 mothers in this study about their training practices. The mothers were asked, «At what age do you expect your son to do the following things?» and to note the appropriate items from the following list (taken from the Winterbottom index of training in independence and mastery):[10]

1. To be willing to try things on his own without depending on his mother for help.
2. To be active and energetic in climbing, jumping, and sports.
3. To try hard things for himself without asking for help
4. To be able to lead other children and assert himself in children's groups.
5. To make his own friends among children of his own age.
6. To do well in school on his own.
7. To have interests and hobbies of his own. To be able to entertain himself.
8. To do well in competition with other children. To try hard to come out on top in games and sports.
9. To make decisions like choosing his own clothes or deciding to spend his money by himself.

An index of independence training was derived by summing the ages for each item and taking the mean figure. The data in Table I show that the Jews expect earliest evidence of self-reliance from their children (mean age 6.83 years), followed by the Protestants (6.87), Negroes (7.23), Greeks (7.67), French-Canadians (7.99), and Italians (8.03). Both primary surces of variation—ethnicity and social class—are significant at the .01 level.

Data on the relative emphasis which ra-

TABLE 1. Mean Age of Independence Training by Ethnicity and Social Class

	Social Class*				
Ethnicity	I-II-III	IV	V	$\bar{X}$	N
French-Canadian	8.00	7.69	8.08	7.99	62
Italian	6.79	7.89	8.47	8.03	74
Greek	6.33	8.14	7.52	7.67	47
Jew	6.37	7.29	6.90	6.83	57
Negro	6.64	6.98	7.39	7.23	65
Protestant	5.82	7.44	7.03	6.87	122
$\bar{X}$	6.31	7.64	7.59		

Ethnicity: $F = 8.55$ $P < .01$
Social Class: $F = 21.48$ $P < .001$
Ethnicity X Class: $F = 6.25$ $P < .01$

*The three-class breakdown was used in an earlier phase of the analysis. An examination of the means of cells using a four-class breakdown revealed no change in pattern and did not warrant new computations.

cial and ethnic groups place upon achievement *training* (that is, imposing standards of excellence upon tasks, setting high goals for the child to achieve, and communicating to him a feeling that his parents evaluate highly his task-competence) are much more difficult to obtain. Achievement training as such, in fact, is rarely treated in studies of ethnic socialization practices. Hence, inferences about achievement training were drawn primarily from ethnographic and historical materials, which are usually more informative about achievement as such than about relevant socialization practices.

The groups about which the most is known concerning achievement training, perhaps, are the Protestants, the Jews, and, to a lesser extent, the Greeks. These groups traditionally have stressed excellence and achievement. In the case of the Protestants, this tradition can be located in the Puritan Ethic with its concept of work as a «calling» and the exhortation that a job be done well. Of course, not all Protestants would be equally comfortable with this tradition; it is much more applicable, for example, to Presbyterians and Quakers than to Methodists and Baptists. Nonetheless, the generally longer residence of Protestants in this country makes it probable that they would tend to share the American belief that children should be encouraged to develop their talents and to set high goals, possibly a bit beyond their reach. The observation that Jews stress achievement training is commonplace. Zyborowski and Herzog note the strong tendency among *shtetyl* Jews to expect and to reward evidences of achievement even among very young children. The image of the Jewish mother as eager for her son to excel in competition and to set ever higher goals for himself is a familiar one in the literature of Jewish family life.[11] Careful attention to standards of excellence in the Greek home is stressed by the parents: children know that a task which is shabbily performed will have to be re-done. In this country, the Greek is exhorted to be «a credit to his group.» Failure to meet group norms is quickly perceived and where possible punished; while achievement receives the approbation of the entire Greek community.

Among the Southern Italians (the overwhelming majority of American-Italians are of Southern Italian extraction), French-Canadians, and Negroes the tradition seems to be quite different. More often than not they come from agrarian societies or regions in which opportunities for achievement were strictly curtailed by the social structure and where habits of resignation and fatalism in the face of social and environmental frustra-

TABLE 2. Mean Achievement Motivation Scores by Ethnicity and Social Class

	Social Class					
Ethnicity	I-II	III	IV	V	$\bar{X}$	N
French-Canadian	10.00	10.64	8.78	7.75	8.82	62
Italian	8.86	12.81	7.54	10.20	9.65	74
Greek	9.17	12.13	10.40	8.75	10.80	47
Jew	10.05	10.41	10.94	11.20	10.53	57
Negro	11.36	9.00	8.23	6.72	8.40	65
Protestant	11.71	10.94	9.39	7.31	10.11	122
$\bar{X}$	10.55	11.26	9.01	8.32		
		Ethnicity:	F = 1.23	P > .05		
		Social Class:	F = 5.30	P < .005		
		Ethnicity X Class:	F = 1.32	P > .05		

tions were psychologically functional. Under such conditions children were not typically exhorted to be achievers or urged to set their sights very high. Of course, children were expected to perform tasks, as they are in most societies, but such tasks were usually farm or self-caretaking chores, from which the notion of competition with standards of excellence is not excluded, but is not ordinarily stressed. As for communicating to the child a sense of confidence in his competence to do a task well, there is some evidence that in the father-dominant Italian and French-Canadian families, pronounced concern with the child's ability might be perceived as a threat to the father.[12]

On the whole, the data indicate that Protestants, Jews, and Greeks place a greater emphasis on independence and achievement training than Southern Italians and French-Canadians. The data on the Negroes are conflicting; they often train children relatively early in self-reliance, but there is little evidence of much stress upon achievement training. No doubt the socialization practices of these groups have been modified somewhat by the acculturating influences of American society since their arrival in the Northeast.[13] But ethnic cultures tend to survive even in the face of strong obliterating forces, and we believe that earlier differences between groups persist—a position supported by the present data on self-reliance training. Hence, the hypothesis that the racial and ethnic groups considered here differ with respect to achievement motivation. We predicted that, on the average, achievement motivation scores would be highest among the Jews, Greeks, and white Protestants, lower among the Italians and French-Canadians, and lowest among the Negroes. Table 2 shows that the data support these predictions, indicated by the following mean scores: Greeks 10.80, Jews 10.53, Protestants 10.11, Italians 9.65, French-Canadians 8.82, and Negroes 8.40.

A series of «t» tests of significance between means (a one-tail test was used in cases where the direction of the difference had been predicted) was computed. The differences between Greeks, Jews, and Protestants are not statistically significant. The Italian score is significantly lower ($P < .05$) than the score for the Greeks, but not for the Jews and Protestants. The largest differences are between the French-Canadians and Negroes on the one hand and the remaining groups on the other; the French-Canadian mean score is significantly lower ($P < .01$) than those of all other groups except Italians and Negroes; the mean score for all Negroes is significantly lower ($P < .01$) than the scores for all other groups except French-Canadians. A «Roman Catholic» score was obtained by combining Italian and French-Canadian scores, and scores for all non-Negro groups were combined to form a «White» score. The differences between group means were tested for significance (by a one-tail «t» test) and it was found that the «Catholic» score is significantly lower than the scores for Protestants, Greek Orthodox, and Jews ($P < .01$). The Negro mean score is significantly lower than the combined score of all white groups ($P < .002$).

A comparison of ethnic-racial differences does not tell the whole story. There are also significant differences between the social classes. In fact, analysis of Table 2 indicates that social class accounts for more of the variance than ethnicity: the F ratio for ethnicity is 1.23 ($P < .05$), for class 5.30 ($P < .005$). The small number of cases in Classes I and II greatly increases the within-group variance; when these two classes are combined with Class III the variance is decreased and the F ratio for ethnicity increases sharply to 2.13 ($P < .06$). Social class, however, remains more significantly related to achievement motivation than ethnicity. This finding is especially important in this study since the proportion of subjects in

each class varies for the ethnic groups. There are relatively more middle class than lower class subjects among the Jews, Greeks, and Protestants than among Italians, French-Canadians, and Negroes. To control for social class it was necessary to examine the differences between cells as well as between columns and rows. A series of «t» tests of differences between the means of cells revealed that for the most part the earlier pattern established for total ethnic means persists, although in some instances the differences between groups are decreased, in others increased, and in a few cases the direction of the differences is reversed. Neither ethnicity nor social class alone is sufficient to predict an individual's score; both appear to contribute something to the variance between groups, but on the whole social class is a better predictor than ethnicity. Generally, a high status person from an ethnic group with a low mean achievement motivation score is more likely to have a high score than a low status person from a group with a high mean score. Thus, the mean score for Class I-II Negroes is higher than the score for Class IV-V white Protestants; the score for the former is 11.36, for the latter, 7.31; a «t» test revealed that the difference between these two means is significant at the .05 level, using a two-tail test. This relatively high score for Class I-II Negroes, the third highest for any cell in the table, indicates, perhaps, the strong motivation necessary for a Negro to achieve middle class status in a hostile environment. Generally, the scores for each group decrease as the class level declines, except for the Jews whose scores are inversely related to social status—a finding for which we can offer no explanation.

Achievement Value Orientations—Achievement motivation is one part of the achievement syndrome: an equally important component is the achievement value orientation. Value orientations are defined as meaningful and affectively charged modes of organizing behavior—principles that guide human conduct. They establish criteria which influence the individual's preferences and goals. Achievement values and achievement motivation, while related, represent genuinely different components of the achievement syndrome, not only conceptually but also in their origins and, as we have shown elsewhere, in their social correlates.[14] Value orientations, because of their conceptual content, are probably acquired in that stage of the child's cultural training when verbal communication of a fairly complex nature is possible. Achievement motivation or the need to excel, on the other hand, has its origins in parent-child interaction beginning early in the child's life when many of these relations are likely to be emotional and unverbalized. Analytically, then, the learning of achievement oriented values can be independent of the acquisition of the achievement motive, although empirically they often occur together.

Achievement values affect social mobility in that they focus the individual's attention on status improvement and help to shape his behavior so that achievement motivation can be translated into successful action. The achievement motive by itself is not a sufficient condition of social mobility: it provides internal impetus to excel, but it does not impel the individual to take the steps necessary for status achievement. Such steps in our society involve, among other things, a preparedness to plan, work hard, make sacrifices, and be physically mobile. Whether or not the individual will understand their importance and accept them will depend in part upon his values.

Three sets of values (a modification of Kluckhohn's scheme[15]) were identified as elements of the achievement syndrome,[16] as follows:

1. *Activistic-Passivistic Orientation* concerns

the extent to which the culture of a group encourages the individual to believe in the possibility of his manipulating the physical and social environment to his advantage. An activistic culture encourages the individual to believe that it is both possible and necessary for him to improve his status, whereas a passivistic culture promotes the acceptance of the notion that individual efforts to achieve mobility are relatively futile.

2. *Individualistic-Collectivistic Orientation* refers to the extent to which the individual is expected to subordinate his needs to the group. This study is specifically concerned with the degree to which the society expects the individual to maintain close physical proximity to his family of orientation, even at the risk of limiting vocational opportunities; and the degree to which the society emphasizes group incentives rather than personal rewards. The collectivistic society places a greater stress than the individualistic on group ties and group incentives.

3. *Present-Future Orientation* concerns the society's attitude toward time and its impact upon behavior. A present oriented society stresses the merit of living in the present, emphasizing immediate gratifications; a future oriented society encourages the belief that planning and present sacrifices are worthwhile, or morally obligatory, in order to insure future gains.

Examination of ethnographic and historical materials on the cultures of the six ethnic groups revealed important differences in value orientation—differences antedating their arrival in the Northeast. The cultures of white Protestants, Jews, and Greeks stand out as considerably more individualistic, activistic, and future-oriented than those of the Southern Italians, French-Canadians, and Negroes. Several forces—religious, economic, and national—seem to have long influenced the Protestants in this direction, including, first, the Puritan Ethic with its stress upon individualism and work; then the impact of the liberal economic ethic (Weber's «Spirit of Capitalism») emphasizing competitive activity and achievement; and finally, the challenge of the frontier, with its consequent growth of a national feeling of optimism and manifest destiny. All of these factors tended very early to create a highly activistic, individualistic, future-oriented culture—the picture of American culture held by foreign observers since Tocqueville.[17]

The Jews, who for centuries had lived in more or less hostile environments, have learned that it is not only possible to manipulate their environment to insure survival but even to prosper in it. Jewish tradition stresses the possibility of the individual rationally mastering his world. Man is not helpless against the forces of nature or of his fellow man; God will provide, but only if man does his share. Like Protestantism, Judaism is an intensely individualistic religion and the Jews an intensely individualistic people. While the family was close knit, it was the entire *shtetyl* which was regarded as the inclusive social unit; and in neither case was loyalty to the group considered threatened by physical mobility. The Jews typically have urged their children to leave home if in so doing they faced better opportunities. *Shtetyl* society, from which the vast majority of American Jewry is descended, vigorously stressed the importance of planning and working for the future. A *shtetyl* cultural tradition was that parents save for many years, often at great sacrifice to themselves, in order to improve their son's vocational opportunities or to provide a daughter with a dowry.[18]

In some respects, Greek and Jewish cultures were strikingly similar at the turn of the century. The ethos of the town and city permeated the Greek more than most other Mediterranean cultures, although only a small proportion of the population was engaged in trade—with the important exception of the Levantine Greeks, who were largely merchants. The image of the Greek in

the Eastern Mediterranean area was that of an individualistic, foresighted, competitive trader. Early observers of the Greek in America were impressed by his activistic, future-oriented behavior. E. A. Ross, a rather unfriendly observer, wrote as early as 1914 that «the saving, commercial Greek climbs. From curb to stand, from stand to store, from little store to big store, and from there to branch stores in other cities—such are the stages in his upward path.»[19]

Though separated by thousands of miles, French-Canadian and Southern Italian cultures were similar in many respects. Both were primarily peasant cultures, strongly influenced by the Roman Catholic Church. Neither could be described as activistic, individualistic, or future-oriented. In Southern Italian society the closed-class system and grinding poverty fostered a tradition of resignation—a belief that the individual had little control over his life situation and a stress upon the role of fate *(Destino)* in determining success. The living conditions of French-Canadians, although less harsh, were sufficiently severe to sharply limit the individual's sense of mastery over his situation. In neither group was there a strong feeling that the individual could drastically improve his lot; for both groups the future was essentially unpredictable, even capricious. Extended family ties were very strong in both groups: there is the Southern Italian saying, «the family against all others;» the French-Canadian farmer in need of help will travel many miles to hire a kinsman rather than an otherwise convenient neighbor.[20]

Ironically, although Negroes are usually Protestant (however, not ordinarily of the Calvinistic type) and have been exposed to the liberal economic ethic longer than most of the other groups considered here, their culture, it seems, is least likely to accent achievement values. The Negro's history as a slave and depressed farm worker, and the sharp discrepancy between his experiences and the American Creed, would appear to work against the internalization of the achievement values of the dominant white group. Typically, the Negro life-situation does not encourage the belief that one can manipulate his environment or the conviction that one can improve his condition very much by planning and hard work.[21] Generally, family ties have not been strong among Negroes, although traditionally the mother was an especially important figure and ties between her and her children, particularly sons, may still be very strong.[22]

Another and more direct way of studying ethnic values is to talk with group mem-

TABLE 3. Mean Value Scores by Ethnicity and Social Class

	Social Class					
Ethnicity	I-II	III	IV	V	$\bar{X}$	N
French-Canadian	4.00	4.21	4.60	2.46	3.68	62
Italian	5.86	4.00	3.96	3.40	4.17	74
Greek	6.33	5.52	4.80	3.25	5.08	47
Jew	5.94	5.47	5.41	4.80	5.54	57
Negro	6.00	5.00	4.90	4.67	5.03	65
Protestant	5.86	5.50	4.97	3.54	5.16	122
$\bar{X}$	5.91	5.08	4.78	3.49		
		Ethnicity:	F = 11.62	P < .001		
		Social Class:	F = 33.80	P < .001		
		Ethnicity X Class:	F = 2.43	P < .01		

bers themselves; thus our personal interviews with the mothers. (Their sons in many cases were too young to give meaningful answers.) They were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the following statements, listed here under the appropriate value orientation categories.

(1) *Activistic-Passivistic Orientation.*

Item 1. «All a man should want out of life in the way of a career is a secure, not too difficult job, with enough pay to afford a nice car and eventually a home of his own.»

Item 2. «When a man is born the success he is going to have is already in the cards, so he might just as well accept it and not fight against it.»

Item 3. «The secret of happiness is not expecting too much out of life and being content with what comes your way.»

(2) *Individualistic-Collectivistic Orientation.*

Item 4. «Nothing is worth the sacrifice of moving away from one's parents.»

Item 5. «The best kind of job is one where you are part of an organization all working together even if you don't get individual credit.»[23]

(3) *Present-Future Orientation.*

Item 6. «Planning only makes a person unhappy since your plans hardly ever work out anyway.»

Item 7. «Nowadays with world conditions the way they are the wise person lives for today and lets tomorrow take care of itself.»

Responses indicating an activistic, future-oriented, individualistic point of view (the answer «disagree» to these items) reflect values, we believe, most likely to facilitate achievement and social mobility. These items were used to form a value index, and a score was derived for each subject by giving a point for each achievement-oriented response. In examining the mothers' scores two assumptions were made: (1) that they tend to transmit their values to their sons, and (2) that the present differences between groups are indicative of at least equal, and perhaps even greater, differences in the past.

The ethnographic and historical materials led us to expect higher value scores for Jews, white Protestants, and Greeks than for Italians, French-Canadians, and Negroes. In large measure, these expectations were confirmed. Table 3 shows that Jews have the highest mean score (5.54), followed closely by Protestants (5.16), Greeks (5.08), and Negroes (surprisingly) (5.03). The Italians' score (4.17) is almost a point lower, and the French-Canadian score (3.68) is the lowest for any group. The scores for Jews, Protestants, and Greeks do not significantly differ when the two-tail test is used (we were not able to predict the direction of the differences), but they are all significantly higher than the scores for Italians and French-Canadians. When Italian and French-Canadian scores are combined to form a «Roman Catholic» score, the latter is significantly lower ($P < .001$) than the scores for Jews, Protestants, or Greeks.

The prediction for the Negroes proved to be entirely wrong. Their mean score (5.03) is significantly higher ($P < .001$) than the scores for Italians and French-Canadians. Nor is the Negro score significantly different from those for Protestants and Greeks, although it is significantly lower than the Jewish score ($P < .05$) when the one-tail test is used. The skeptic may regard the relatively high Negro value score as merely lip-service to the liberal economic ethic, but it may in fact reflect, and to some extent be responsible for, the economic gains of Negroes in recent years.[24]

Social class also is significantly related to achievement values and accounts for more of the variance than ethnicity: the F ratio for class is 33.80 ($P < .001$) for ethnicity 11.62 ($P < .001$). Almost without exception, the mean score for each ethnic group is reduced with each decline in status. ***Social class, however, does not wash out the differences between ethnic groups.*** A series of «t» tests be-

tween cells across each social class reveals that Greek, Jewish, and Protestant scores remain significantly higher than Italian and French-Canadian scores. Negro scores also remain among the highest across each social class. Ethnicity and social class interact and each contributes something to the differences between groups: the individual with high social status who also belongs to an ethnic group which stresses achievement values is far more likely to have a high value score than an individual with low status and membership in a group in which achievement is not emphasized. For example, the Class I-II Greek score is 6.33 as compared with the Class V French-Canadian score of 2.46—the difference between them is significant at the .001 level. On the other hand, the score for Class I-II Italians, an ethnic group in which achievement values are not stressed, is 5.86 as compared with 3.25 for Class V Greeks—the difference between them is significant at the .001 level. Neither variable, then, is sufficient to predict an individual's score; and for some groups social class seems to be the more siginficant factor, for others ethnicity appears to play the greater role. Thus, for Jews and Negroes the mean scores remain relatively high for each social class; in fact, Class V Jews and Negroes have larger mean scores than many French-Canadians and Italians of higher social status.

Aspiration Levels—Achievement motivation and values influence social mobility by affecting the individual's need to excel and his willingness to plan and work hard. But they do not determine the areas in which such excellence and effort take place. Achievement motivation and values can be expressed, as they often are, through many kinds of behavior that are not conducive to social mobility in our society, for example, deviant, recreational, or religious behavior. Unless the individual aims for high vocational goals and prepares himself appropriately, his achievement motivation and values will not pull him up the social ladder. Increasingly, lengthy formal education, often including college and post-graduate study, is needed for movement into prestigeful and lucrative jobs. An educational aspiration level which precludes college training may seriously affect the individual's chances for social mobility.

Their cultures, even before the arrival of the ethnic groups in the Northeast, were markedly different in orientation towards education.[25] The Protestants' stress upon formal education, if only as a means of furthering one's career, is well known. Traditionally, Jews have placed a very high value on educational and intellectual attainment; learning in the *shtetyl* society gave the individual prestige, authority, a chance for a better marriage. Contrariwise, for Southern Italians, school was an upper class institution, not an avenue for social advancement for their children, booklearning was remote from everyday experience, and intellectualism often regarded with distrust. French-Canadians, although not hostile to education and learning, were disinclined to educate their sons beyond the elementary level. Daughters needed more education as preparation for jobs in the event they did not marry, but sons were destined to be farmers or factory workers, in the parents' view, with the exception at times of one son who would be encouraged to become a priest. Greeks—generally no better educated than Italians or French-Canadians—on the whole were much more favorably disposed towards learning, in large part because of their intense nationalistic identification with the cultural glories of ancient Greece.[26] This identification was strengthened by the relatively hostile reception Greeks met on their arrival in this country, and is in part responsible for the rapid development of private schools supported by the Greek community and devoted to the teaching of Greek culture—an interesting parallel to the

Hebrew School among American Jews. Finally, Negroes, who might be expected to share the prevalent American emphasis upon education, face the painfully apparent fact that positions open to educated Negroes are scarce. This fact means that most Negroes, in all likelihood, do not consider high educational aspirations realistic. And the heavy drop-out in high school suggests that the curtailment of educational aspirations begins very early.

To test whether and to what degree these differences between groups persist, the mothers were asked: «How far do you *intend* for your son to go to school?» It was hoped that the term *intend* would structure the question so that the reply would indicate, not merely a mother's pious wish, but also an expression of will to do something about her son's schooling. The data show that 96 per cent of the Jewish, 88 per cent of the Protestant, 85 per cent of the Greek, 83 per cent of the Negro (much higher than was anticipated), 64 per cent of the Italian, and 56 per cent of the French-Canadian mothers said that they expected their sons to go to college. The aspirations of Jews, Protestants, Greeks, and Negroes are not significantly different from one another, but they are significantly higher than the aspirations of Italians and French-Canadians ($P < .05$).

Social class, once more, is significantly related to educational aspiration. When class is controlled the differences between ethnic groups are diminished—particularly at the Class I-II-III levels—but they are not erased: Jews, Protestants, Greeks, and Negroes tend to have aspirations similar to one another and higher than those of Italians and French-Canadians for each social class. The differences are greatest at the lower class levels: at Class V, 85 per cent of the Protestants, 80 per cent of the Jews, and 78 per cent of the Negroes intend for their sons to go to college as compared with 63 per cent of the Greeks, 50 per cent of the Italians, and 29 per cent of the French-Canadians.

The individual, to be socially mobile, must aspire to the occupations which society esteems and rewards highly. An individual, strongly motivated to excel and willing to plan and work hard, who sets his heart on being the best barber will probably be less vertically mobile than an equally endowed person who aspires to become the best surgeon. Moreover, the individual who aspires to a high status occupation is likely to expend more energy in competitive striving—and in so doing improve his chances for social mobility—than someone whose occupational choice demands relatively little from him.

Since many of the boys in this study were too young to appraise occupations realistically, we sought to obtain a measure of ethnic group vocational aspiration by questioning the mothers about their aspirations for their sons, once again assuming that they would tend to communicate their views of status levels and their expectations for their sons. Ten occupations were chosen which can be ranked by social status; seven of our ten occupations (marked below by asterisks) were selected from the N.O.R.C. ranking.[27] The occupations, originally presented in alphabetical order, are given here in the order of status: Lawyer*, Druggist, Jewelry Store Owner, Machinist*, Bank Teller, Insurance Agent*, Bookkeeper*, Mail Carrier*, Department Store Salesman*, and Bus Driver*. The mothers were asked: «If things worked out so that your son were in the following occupations, would you be satisfied or dissatisfied?» To obtain aspiration scores for each mother, her responses were treated in three ways:

1. The number of times the mother answered «satisfied» to the ten occupations was summed to give a single score. In effect this

meant giving each occupation of weight of one. Since the subject must inevitably select lower status occupations as she increases her number of choices, the higher the summed score, the lower the aspiration level. The basic limitation of this method is that it is impossible to know from the summed score whether the occupations chosen are of low or high status.

2. To correct for this, a second index was derived by assigning weights to the seven occupations taken from the N.O.R.C. study according to their position in the rank order. Thus the highest status position, lawyer, was given a rank weight of 1.0 and the lowest a weight of 6.5 (store salesman and bus driver were tied for last place). Here again, the higher the score, the lower the aspiration level.

3. A third method of weighting the occupations was devised by taking the percentage of the entire sample of mothers who said that they would be satisfied with a particular occupation, and using the reciprocal of each percentage as the weight for that occupation. (The reciprocal was first multiplied by one thousand to eliminate decimals.) The mothers ranked the occupations somewhat differently than the N.O.R.C. ranking (assigning a higher status to bookkeeper and insurance agent and lower status to machinist and mail carrier). The assumption here is that the higher the percentage who answered «satisfied,» the higher the status of the occupation. A score for each mother was obtained by summing the reciprocal weights for each occupation chosen. With this method, the highest status occupation is lawyer (score of 11.0), the lowest bus driver (48.0). All ten occupations were used in this index. The higher the subject's score, the lower her aspiration level.

Although these indexes differ somewhat, they provide very similar data on ethnic group vocational aspirations. Table 4 shows the same rank ordering of groups for all three indexes, in descending order as follows: Jews, Greeks, Protestants, Italians, French-Canadians, and Negroes. A series of «t» tests of differences between group mean scores revealed differences and similarities much like those found for achievement motivation. Thus the Jews, Greeks, and Protestants show significantly higher mean scores (that is, they tend to be satisfied with fewer occupations and indicate satisfaction with only the higher status positions) than the Roman Catholic Italians and French-Canadians.[28] The mean score for Jews is significantly higher than the scores for Protestants and Greeks, but there are no significant differences between Greeks and Protestants, or between Italians and French-Canadians. The mean score for Negroes is significantly lower than the scores for all other groups except French-Canadians. In examining the aspirations of Negroes it should be remembered that most of these occupations are considered highly desirable by many Negroes, given their severely limited occupational opportunities, so that their aspiration level may appear low only by «white» standards. There

TABLE 4. Mean Scores and Rank Position of Six Ethnic Groups Using Three Indexes of Vocational Aspiration*

	Index of Vocational Aspiration			
Ethnicity	Number Satisfied	Rank Weight	Reciprocal Weight	N
French-Canadian	6.60 (5)	14.43 (5)	119.90 (5)	62
Italian	5.96 (4)	12.66 (4)	104.55 (4)	74
Greek	4.70 (2)	7.78 (2)	73.51 (2)	47
Jew	3.51 (1)	6.02 (1)	59.48 (1)	57
Negro	6.95 (6)	16.18 (6)	138.74 (6)	65
Protestant	5.28 (3)	10.12 (3)	88.19 (3)	122

*Rank positions are shown by figures in parentheses.

are, however, these problems: are the Negro mothers (83 per cent) in earnest in saying that they intend for their sons to go to college? And, if so, how is this to be reconciled with their low vocational aspirations?

Social class, too, is significantly and directly related to vocational aspiration—a familiar finding—*but it is not as significant as ethnicity*. Analysis of variance of data for each of the three indexes reveals that ethnicity accounts for more of the variance than social class. For example, when the number of occupations with which the mother would be satisfied for her son is used as an index of vocational aspiration, the F ratio for ethnicity is 12.41 ($P < .001$) as compared with a ratio of 9.92 for social class ($P < .001$). The same pattern holds for data derived from the other two indexes. Although ethnicity and class interact, each contributing to the differences between groups, the effects of class are more apparent at the middle class (Classes I-II-III) than at the working and lower class (Classes IV-V) levels.

As the question was worded in this study, in one sense it is misleading to speak of the «height» of vocational aspirations. For all groups have «high» aspirations in that most mothers are content to have their sons achieve a high status. The basic difference between groups is in the «floor,» so to speak, which they place on their aspirations. For example, at least 80 per cent of the mothers of each ethnic group said that they would be satisfied to have their sons be lawyers, but only two per cent of the Greeks and seven per cent of the Jews were content to have their sons become bus drivers, as compared with 26 per cent of the French-Canadians and 43 per cent of the Negroes. Again, 12 per cent of the Jewish, 22 per cent of the Protestant, and 29 per cent of the Greek mothers said that they would be satisfied to have their sons become department store salesmen, as compared with 48 per cent of the Italians, 51 per cent of the Negro, and 52 per cent of the French-Canadian mothers.

SUMMARY

This paper examines differences in motivation, values, and aspirations of six racial and ethnic groups which may explain in part their dissimilar social mobility rates. Analysis of ethnographic and attitudinal and personality data suggests that these groups differed, and to some extent still differ, in their orientation toward achievement. The data show that the groups place different emphases upon independence and achievement training in the rearing of children. As a consequence, achievement motivation is more characteristic of Greeks, Jews, and white Protestants than of Italians, French-Canadians, and Negroes. The data also indicate that Jews, Greeks, and Protestants are more likely to possess achievement values and higher educational and vocational aspirations than Italians and French-Canadians. The values and educational aspirations of the Negroes are higher than expected, being comparable to those of Jews, Greeks, and white Protestants, and higher than those of the Italians and French-Canadians. Vocational aspirations of Negroes, however, are the lowest of any group in the sample. Social class and ethnicity interact in influencing motivation, values, and aspirations: neither can predict an individual's score. Ethnic differences persist when social class is controlled, but some of the differences between ethnic groups in motivations, values, and aspirations are probably also a function of their class composition.

Notes

1. Cf. W.L. Warner and L. Srole, *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups,* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945; F.L. Strodtbeck, «Jewish and Italian Immigration and Subsequent Status Mobility,» in D. McClelland, A. Baldwin, U. Bronfenbrenner and F. Strodtbeck, *Talent and Society,* Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1958; M. Davie, *World Migration,* New York: Macmillan, 1936.

2. Cf. N. Glazer, «The American Jew and the Attainment of Middle-Class Rank: Some Trends and Explanations,» in M. Sklare, editor, *The Jews: Social Patterns of an American Group,* Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958; W.L. Warner and L. Srole, *op. cit.;* T. Burgess, *Greeks in America,* Boston: Sherman, French, 1913; T. Saloutos, «The Greeks in the U.S.,» *The South Atlantic Quarterly,* 4 (January, 1945), pp. 69-82; T. Kalijarvi, «French-Canadians in the United States,» *Annals, American Academy of Political and Social Science* (September, 1942); F.L. Strodtbeck, «Family Interactions, Values and Achievement,» in D. McClelland, *et al., op. cit.;* G. Myrdal, *An American Dilemma,* New York: Harper, 1944.

3. B.C. Rosen, «The Achievement Syndrome: A Psychocultural Dimension of Social Stratification,» *The American Sociological Review,* 21 (April, 1956), pp. 203-211.

4. The interviewers were trained by the writer: efforts were made to control for interviewer biases. It should be remembered that the sample is not random at any point in the selection process. Hence, the reader is cautioned to regard the data presented here as tentative and suggestive.

5. A.B. Hollingshead and F.C. Redlich, «Social Stratification and Psychiatric Disorders,» *American Sociological Review,* 18 (April, 1953), pp. 163-169.

6. D.C. McClelland, J. Atkinson, R. Clark, and E. Lowell, *The Achievement Motive,* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1953.

7. M. Winterbottom, «The Relation of Need for Achievement to Learning Experiences in Independence and Mastery,» in J. Atkinson, editor, *Motives in Fantasy, Action and Society,* Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1958; B.C. Rosen, «The Psychosocial Origins of Achievement Motivation,» mimeographed progress report to the National Institute of Mental Health, 1957.

8. D.C. McClelland, «Some Social Consequences of Achievement Motivation,» in M.R. Jones, editor, *Nebraska Symposium on Motivation, 1955,* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1955.

9. D.C. McClelland, A. Rindlisbacher, and R.C. deCharms, «Religious and Other Sources of Parental Attitudes Towards Independence Training,» in D.C. McClelland, editor, *Studies in Motivation,* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1955.

10. Winterbottom, *op. cit.* Through primarily a measure of independence training, two items in this index—items 6 and 8—are considered measures of mastery training, a concept akin to our notion of achievement training. The failure to disentangle independence training from mastery (achievement) training has been responsible for some confusion in earlier studies of the origins of achievement motivation. (For an analysis of this confusion, see Rosen, «The Psychosocial Origins of Achievement Motivation,» *op. cit.*) The two components were kept in the index in order to maintain comparability between this study and the earlier work on ethnic groups by McClelland reported above.

11. M. Zyborowski and E. Herzog, *Life Is With People,* New York: International University Press, 1952.

12. P.H. Williams, *South Italian Folkways in Europe and America,* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938; H. Miner, *St. Dennis: A French-Canadian Parish,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939.

13. It does not necessarily follow that the impact of American culture has reduced the differences between groups. An argument can be made that for some groups life in America has accentuated differences by allowing certain characteristics of the groups to develop. We have in mind par-

ticularly the Greeks and Jews whose need to excel could find little avenue for expression through status striving in Europe.

14. Rosen, «The Achievement Syndrome,» *op. cit.*, pp. 208-210.

15. F. Kluckhohn, «Dominant and Substitute Profiles of Cultural Orientations,» *Social Forces*, 28 (May, 1950), pp. 376-393.

16. For the most part, the value orientations examined in this study, their description, and the items used to index them, are identical with those which appear in Rosen, «The Achievement Syndrome,» *op. cit.*

17. For a history of the development of the liberal economic ethic and its manifestation on the American scene, see J.H. Randall, *The Making of the Modern Mind*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1926; J.K. Galbraith, *The Affluent Society*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1958.

18. Zyborowski and Herzog, *op. cit.*; B.C. Rosen, «Cultural Factors in Achievement,» mimeographed, 1952; Strodtbeck, «Family Interactions, Values and Achievement,» *op. cit.*

19. Quoted in Saloutos, *op. cit.*, p. 71. The writer is indebted to J. Gregoropoulos, a native of Athens, for many helpful comments on European and American Greek communities.

20. Miner, *op. cit.* See also Williams, *op. cit.*; Strodtbeck, «Family Interactions, Values and Achievement,» *op. cit.*

21. We recognize that to infer a group's values from its life-situation and then to use these values to explain an aspect of that situation is to reason circularly. However, the temporal sequence between values and mobility has a chicken-egg quality which is difficult to avoid because values and life-situation interact. To some extent, knowledge of ethnic cultures prior to their arrival in the United States helps to establish the priority of values to mobility. In the case of the Negroes, however, relatively little is known about their several cultures before their transportation to this country.

22. E.F. Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939; see also Frazier's *The Negro in the United States*, New York: Macmillan, 1957, especially Chapters 13 and 24.

23. Of course, if Whyte is correct about the growth of the organization man and the importance of the «social ethic,» agreement with this statement may indicate an asset rather than a handicap to social mobility. See W.H. Whyte, Jr., *The Organization Man*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957.

24. The relatively high value score for Negroes supports our contention that achievement motivation and achievement values are genuinely different components of the achievement syndrome. It will be remembered that the Negroes had the lowest mean motivation score. If achievement motivation and values are conceptually and empirically identical, there should be no difference between the two sets of scores.

25. For a comparison of ethnic group education and vocational aspirations, see R.M. Williams, Jr., *American Society*, New York: Knopf, 1951, Chapter 8; F.J. Woods, *Cultural Values of American Ethnic Groups*, New York: Harper, 1956, Chapters 5 and 7.

26. Attempts by Mussolini to create a similar bond between his people and ancient Rome, or even the more recent Renaissance, were unsuccessful. French-Canadians for the most part have long refused to be impressed by the «secular» achievement of European anti-clerical society.

27. National Opinion Research Center, «Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation,» *Opinion News*, 9 (September 1, 1947). We substituted store salesman for store clerk and bus driver for streetcar motorman. The position of the three exceptions which did not appear in the N.O.R.C. survey are ranked according to their similarity to occupations in the survey.

28. Similar Jewish-Italian differences are reported in F.I. Strodtbeck, M. McDonald, and B.C. Rosen, «Evaluation of Occupations: A Reflection of Jewish and Italian Mobility Differences,» *American Sociological Review*, 22 (October, 1957), pp. 546-553.

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An analysis demonstrating that ethnic succession in boxing parallels the immigration and assimilation of ethnic minorities.

This profile of Franco-American status mobility is drawn from one of the best-known community studies in American Sociology, Yankee City, *published in 1963 by Yale University Press. Warner and his colleagues demonstrate to their satisfaction that on both the residential and the occupational status ladders, the French-Canadian migrants began in the nineteenth century some rungs above the botton, and that they remained there for over a generation, moving upward only in the twenty years prior to the 1930's. Warner's point of view is said to be that of the upper-middle class of Newburyport in the 1930's.*

LIVING SPACE AND THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE ETHNIC GENERATIONS

by
W. Lloyd Warner
J.O. Low
Paul S. Lunt
Leo Srole

METHODS FOR THE STUDY OF THE GENERATIONS

The ethnic generation born abroad and migrant to this country is the one attached most strongly to the ancestral social system and its derivative, the ethnic community in Yankee City, and least to the Yankee City social system. In this study this will be called the «parental» or the «P» generation.

The offspring of these immigrants, the «filial first» or the «F^1» generation, having been born, reared, and schooled in the United States, know nothing of the ancestral society of their parents except as it is partially represented in the ethnic group's community organization. The members of the F^1 generation acquire wider external relations with the Yankee City society than their parents and bring more elements of American culture into their internal group relations. The children of the F^1 generation, whom we label F^2, and the children of the F^2 generation, whom we label F^3, exhibit similar progresssive shifts in social personality.

A final differentiation is made by dividing the immigrants into two distinct generations, the P^1 and the P^2, on the basis of a marked difference in social-personality reorientation which is observed between those who migrated as mature, crystallized personalities and those who migrated as immature, «untouched» personalities.[1] The latter, quite aside from the fact of their American schooling, are able to shift their social orientation more quickly and easily than can the older immigrants, as is suggested by the fact that in social-personality type the P^2 generation is intermediate in orientation between the P^1 and F^1 generations. We have set the migrational age of eighteen as the line distinguishing the P^1 from the P^2 generation.

The whole classificatory scale of ethnic generations takes the following form:

P^1. The immigrant generation which entered the United States at an age over 18.
P^2. The immigrant generation which entered the United States at an age of 18 or under.
F^1. The native-born offspring of P^1 and P^2.
F^2. The native-born offspring of F^1.
F^3. The native-born offspring of F^2.
F^4. The native-born offspring of F^3.

This generation scale makes possible a more refined analysis of status mobility and progress of assimilation than is permitted by the analysis of historical source materials alone. We were able to follow the rise of each group through the community as a unit and also to isolate variations in mobility among successive generations within the group. Further, we were able to compare corresponding generations among the various ethnic groups for variations and associated factors in status movements and processes. We could also follow the internal changes of

the ethnic communities in the order of the successive generations.

We shall attempt to place in a measured time perspective the changes in the internal and external organization of each ethnic group and also to compare the original contexts of the ancestral societies from which these groups were derived. Characterizations of the major aspects of these societies are presented in the chapters which follow. Of course, the complete context of Yankee City must be kept in view. General aspects of the society will be referred to whenever they are related specifically to developments in the ethnic groups.

All the ethnic groups in Yankee City except the Jews stem from a rural-peasant type of social system. Are there cultural differences which have had special effects on the course of group interaction in Yankee City? What effect, if any, has a variant social background of a group on its Yankee City development?

If age of the group in the city is a critical variable, what is the influence of the particular order of appearance in the city upon the eight ethnic groups? That is, will an earlier group have more difficulties, or less, and experience slower advance, or faster, than the group which follows it? Further, what weight must be assigned to changes in the Yankee City social system itself which may present the earliest group with conditions not faced by the group last to enter the city?

In summary, this study is an attempt to accomplish the following:

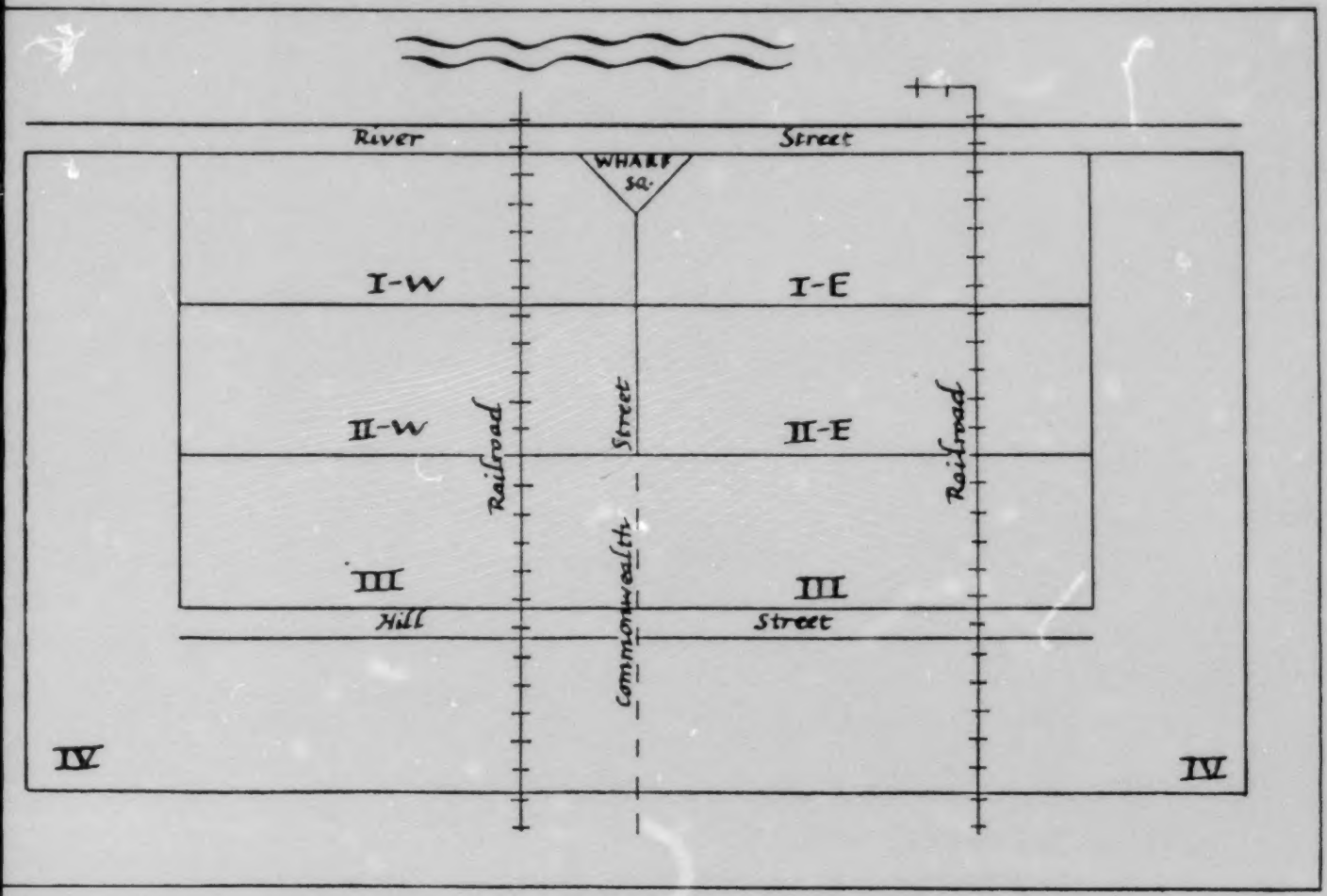
1. To describe in detail, through two time scales and in terms of the relevant contexts, the steps and processes by which eight ethnic groups have
   a. progressively advanced in the major status hierarchies of Yankee City and
   b. progressively adapted the internal organization of their community systems.
2. To analyze the factors, constant and variable, attending these processes, including the interactive role of Yankee City itself.
3. To abstract wider generalizations concerning the nature of social assimilation and acculturation.

The underlying problem of this study is an examination of the validity of America's conception of itself as the «great melting pot.»

RESIDENTIAL ZONES

For purposes of analysis and definition, we have contructed a schematized version of the city's residential areas based on four zones, as represented in Figure 13. Zone I is at the foot of the city's slope directly fronting the river. Here are concentrated most of the factories, coal yards, storage tanks, warehouses, and smaller retail establishments. The houses are usually small, frame, somewhat flimsy, often abutting on the sidewalk. Some are of the box-tenement type. Many are from one hundred to one hundred and fifty years old, often in disrepair. The streets are narrow and some are still unpaved. In population, this is the largest of the zones and also the most dense. The zone has been divided into two sections along Commonwealth Street. Section I-E (East End) is somewhat older than Section I-W (West End), has fewer retail stores, and is more crowded. Houses in I-W are one degree better in quality and upkeep. Section I-E is associated primarily with the lower-lower class and secondarily with the upper-upper class, whereas in Section I-W the order is reversed. Wharf Square, a point of concentration for several ethnic groups, is at the intersection of Commonwealth and River Streets, where Sections I-E and I-W join.

Zone III runs the full length of Hill Street and includes the residences immedi-


River
Street
WHARF SQ.
I-W
I-E
II-W
II-E
III
III
Railroad
Street
Railroad
Commonwealth
Hill
Street
IV
IV

ately adjoining on the side streets. In contrast to Zone I, the finest and largest houses in the city are found here—those which in an earlier period were known as «princely mansions.» Many are set far back from the street with well-kept gardens and shaded by old trees. Hill Street itself is forty feet wide and covered by an arch of ancient elms. There are no business establishments, with the exception of an ice-cream parlor beside the high school and a garage and small store where railroad tracks cross the street at the only low-evaluation spots in the zone. This is the smallest of the four zones, both in area and population, and the lowest, except for Zone IV, in population density. We have already indicated that this zone is primarily identified with the upper classes, although it is now also occupied by an important part of the upper-middle class.

Zone II, between Zones I and II, has few factories but contains all the better retail shops, including the central business section with its stores, offices, theaters, banks, clubrooms, and public buildings. The houses are midway in quality between those of Zones I and III and in better condition than those of the former. Generally they are set back from the walks, which like the streets are uniformly well paved. In area covered and in the size and density of population, Zone II is second only to Zone I. As in the case of Zone I, we have divided Zone II into two sections, one on each side of Commonwealth Street. The important differences between the two sections are that II-W is newer than II-E and its houses, on the whole, are one grade better and not quite so crowded. The zone is primarily associated with the middle classes. However, by far the largest part of the upper-middle class not in Zone III is collected in the western section of Zone II.

Zone IV is a thinly settled peripheral area. House types range from medium grade to lowest. Many houses, particularly on the southern side, are on unpaved streets, in small groups separated by considerable expanses of field. Gardening and a little light farming are still carried on here. There are no business places. It is the largest of the four zones and, Zone III excepted, the lowest in population density. In class composition Zone IV is the most mixed, ranging from the lower-lower class through the lower-middle.[2]

The zones can be arranged in a graded scale according to status value:

1. Section I-E: lower-lower and upper-lower classes.
2. Section I-W: upper-lower and lower-lower classes.
3. Zone IV: lower-middle, upper-lower, and lower-lower classes.
4. Section II-E: lower-middle and upper-lower classes.
5. Section II-W: lower-middle and upper-middle classes.
6. Zone III: upper-upper, lower-upper, and upper-middle classes.

The various residential areas of Yankee City appear in a continuously graded series according to their status value. To determine the average residential status of a group in any one year, we shall utilize a status index. Such an index is computed, first, by assigning consecutive numbers in a series from one to six to each successively higher level (residential areas) in the hierarchy. The group's population by household in any given year is multiplied by the number value allocated to the area of residence. The sum of these products is then divided by the total number of household units in the group for the given year. The quotient is an index number between one and six expressing the status of the group as a whole in terms of an average.

The distribution of the Irish in 1850 is an illustration:

Area	Value	Number of Households	Product
I-E	1	48	48
I-W	2	41	82
IV	2.5	0	0
II-E	3	13	39
II-W	4	2	8
III	6	0	0
		104	177

The summation of the products (177) divided by the total number of households (104) give a quotient of 1.70, the residential status index. Were the entire Irish group in 1850 in Area I-E, the index of course would be 1; and were the group entirely concentrated in I-W, the index would be 2. Hence, if we suppose that the Irish index in 1840 had been 1, the 1850 index of 1.7 expresses the fact that for every ten households in the group there has been an average upward mobility of seven steps (in terms of the series of graded areas) during the decade. Had there been an average advance of ten steps, then of course the index would have been 2.[3]

Table 5 presents the status indices of each ethnic group by decades through its occupation of Yankee City in significantly large family numbers. Manifestations of accelerating mobility in successive ethnic groups may be pointed out.

Four of these groups appear in their first important decade year with a higher index than did the group preceding; three—the French Canadians, Poles, and Russians—are lower. The concentration of the French Canadians in the city's East End has tended to depress their index. However, these three groups excepted, the first decade-year indices increase as follows: Irish, 1.70; Jews, 1.98; Italians, 2.21; Armenians, 2.39; and Greeks, 2.40.

A second instance of accelerating mobility is seen especially in the case of the three oldest groups. On the basis of the indices above, the average mobility each decade by the Irish is .14; by the French Canadians, .19; and by the Jews, .42. The most striking advance made by the Irish is in the last three decades, by the French Canadians in the last two decades, and by the Jews in the last decade—each progressing about .66. That is, in these periods fully two families in every three, on the average, moved upward one whole level in residential status.

What conclusions and generalizations of significance may we draw from this evidence of the movements through the years of the ethnic groups?

ETHNIC EXTERNAL PATTERN IN THE RESIDENTIAL SYSTEM

Table 5. Residential Status Indices, 1850-1933

	1850	1864	1873	1883	1893	1903	1913	1923	1933
Irish	1.70	1.95	2.11	2.11	2.12	2.22	2.37	2.57	2.85
Fr. Canadian					1.67	1.78	1.77	2.13	2.43
Jewish							1.93	2.14	2.77
Italian								2.21	2.38
Armenian								2.39	2.57
Greek								2.40	2.54
Polish								1.25	1.40
Russian									1.32

First and most important is the fact that all ethnic groups, in relation to the Yankee City residential system, behave with a varying degree of uniformity in a definite pattern. The elements in this ethnic pattern are as follows:

1. All groups concentrate first in Zone I and within Zone I on River Street. However, Zone IV represents a secondary gate of ingress.
2. Mobility upward into Zone I from River Street begins early and progresses continuously through the zone and out of it into Zone II.
3. Within Zone I every group, except the Irish, confines itself predominantly either to the East or to the West End Section and remains fixed.
4. In corresponding periods for successive groups the trend of mobility seems to be accelerated.

[. . .]

THE ETHNIC GENERATIONS CLIMB THE OCCUPATIONAL AND CLASS LADDERS

[. . .]

THE OCCUPATIONAL SYSTEM AS A HIERARCHY

In the Yankee City economy, characterized by a highly developed division of labor, each specialized type of «productive» function, carried out by a defined set of techniques, is designated as an «occupation.» Each occupation is ascribed a status value relative to all other occupations, according to criteria of the importance of its function to the operations of the economic and social systems. Among such criteria are the following:

1. Range of relational controls in an economic structure, e.g., in a large corporation, foremen are «higher» than the machine operators, factory managers are «higher» than foremen, corporation executives are « higher» than factory managers, etc.
2. Degree of freedom in applying occupational techniques, e.g., the custom tailor producing made-to-order suits in a shop has higher status than has the machine operating tailor in a factory producing ready-to-wear suits.
3. Skill, training, and special knowledge required to execute the occupational techniques, e.g., the surgeon tends to have a status higher than the general medical practicioner, the physician has a status higher than the dentist, the dentist tends to have a status higher than the chiropodist, etc.
4. Relative economic value of the occupation's product or function, e.g., the designer of machines is above the machinist who builds them, and the latter is higher than the operator.

These criteria, among others, in combination determine the relative status values of the occupations in an economic system. The values are translated, often incompletely, in the variable money rewards attached to the different occupations.

It must be clear, therefore, that the occupational system in a complex economy appears as a graded series of positions, resembling in pattern a hierarchical organization. For purposes of tracing the occupational evolution of the eight ethnic groups, we shall arrange the occupations appearing in the Yankee City economic system into three broad, widely recognized, hierarchical categories and six classes, according to types of techniques, in the following ascending order[4]:

1. Manual techniques:
   a. Unskilled labor—involving simple, loosely organized techniques with few, if any, tools.
   b. Skilled-factory operations—involving highly specialized productive techniques in relation to complex machines and a factory organization.
   c. Skilled-craft operations—involving less specialized and wider range of techniques, with or without relations to machines, set within a relatively simple «shop» type of economic structure, e.g., tailor-

ing and barbering.

2. Exchange-control techniques, i.e., the «white-collar» occupations:
   a. Management-aid operations—involving techniques facilitating management operations, e.g., foremen, supervisors, secretaries, bookkeepers, salesmen, clerks, etc.
   b. Management operations—involving techniques of administering and controlling market and factory structures.
3. Professional techniques—involving advanced knowledge directed toward highly important group functions, e.g., crisis stabilization—the law, medicine, social work, the priesthood; technological or symbolic creation—engineers, scientists, and artists; socialization—teachers; etc.

The correlations of these occupational strata with the six levels of the Yankee City social-class system are broad and general rather than narrow and specific. With only one exception, no occupational class in Yankee City is identified exclusively with any one social class. Rather, in describing the social-class aspects of the occupational hierarchy, it is necessary to speak in terms of the range of social classes covered by each of the six occupational levels, as in the following:

1-a. Unskilled-labor occupations—almost complete identification with the lower-lower class. (The exception cited.)

1-b. Skilled-factory occupations—range from the lower-lower through the lower-middle class, although most strongly represented in the upper-lower class.

1-c. Skilled-craft occupations—range and principal class identification are the same as for 1-b, with a greater secondary representation in the lower-middle class.

2-a. Management-aid occupations—range from upper-lower through the upper-middle class, although falling predominantly in the lower-middle class.

2-b. Management-operation occupations—range from the upper-lower through the upper-upper class, but primary identification with the lower-middle and upper-middle classes.

3. Professional occupations—range from the lower-middle class through the upper-upper class, but predominant representation in the upper-middle class.

Upward from the bottom occupational stratum the social-class range tends to widen. Relative position in the occupational hierarchy is but one among a number of elements which in combination define the individual's place in the social hierarchy. The Yankee City data offer no support for the hypothesis of simple economic determinism of social class.

THE OCCUPATIONAL STATUS INDEX

Before an account was undertaken of the distribution or «scatter» of each ethnic group among the six designated levels of the occupational hierarchy,[5] the average occupational status of each group was worked out in the form of a convenient index number comparable to the residential status index applied in the previous chapter. The occupational status index here used is computed first by assigning each occupational class a differential numerical value in terms of its distance in class levels from the value arbitrarily assigned to the class lowest in the occupational system. The weights allocated are as follows[6]:

	Occupational Class	Weight
1-a.	(Unskilled labor)	1
1-b.	(Skilled factory)	2
1-c.	(Skilled craft)	2.5
2-a.	(Management-aid)	3
2-b.	(Management)	4
3.	(Professions)	6

For a given group in a given year, the absolute number in each of these classes is multiplied by the assigned value of the class, and the summation of these products is then divided by the total employed population of the group. This quotient is a number between one and six, representing the relative position of the group in terms of its average advance from the base occupational level.

Comparing the indices of each ethnic group through the decades indicates the trend of its mobility in the occupational hierarchy, and these trends among the various ethnic groups may then be compared. Table 6 presents the occupational indices of all Yankee City ethnic groups in the period from 1850 through 1933.

The Irish in 1850 have an occupational index of 1.62, which means that for every hundred of employed population an aggregate of sixty-two steps above the lowest occupational level has been taken. An alternative statement is that the Irish, as a group, have a status in the hierarchy about three-fifths above that equivalent to exclusive identification with Class 1-a, and about two-fifths below that equivalent to exclusive identification with Class 1-b.

By 1864 the Irish index is 1.76, indicating that in the interim the Irish have advanced an average of fourteen occupational steps for every hundred of their employed, or that about one individual in every seven employed, on the average has moved one level upward in the occupational hierarchy. Between 1864 and 1883, there is almost no change whatever in the indices, and between 1883 and 1903 the Irish index is increased by only .18. The period 1864-1903, therefore, is one of relative stability in Irish occupational mobility, paralleling the stability of the Irish in the residential system between 1873 and 1903.

In the two decades after 1913, the Irish index grows by about .20 each decade. These are the three phases in the occupational development of the Irish: (1) 1850-64—mobility moderate; (2) 1864-1903—mobility slight; and (3) 1903-33—mobility rapid.

The native group of Yankee City in 1933 has an occupational index of 2.55. Hence the Irish, with an index of 2.52 in that year, have reached a group occupational status almost identical with that of the city's indigenous population.

The French Canadians appear first in 1893 with an index of 1.95, an occupational status almost equivalent to having their entire employed population in the skilled-factory class (1-b). Between 1893 and 1933 the French-Canadian index increases a total of .29 steps or slightly more than the total increment to the index of the Irish in their first four decades. Although the French Canadians start their Yankee City careers at a much higher point in the occupational scale

Table 6. Occupational Status Indices of Eight Ethnic Groups by Decades

	1850	1864	1873	1883	1893	1903	1913	1923	1933
Irish	.62	1.76	1.74	1.76	1.84	1.94	2.14	2.31	2.52
Fr. Canadians					1.95	2.10	2.14	2.23	2.24
Jews							3.10	3.22	3.32
Italians							2.32	2.29	2.28
Armenians							2.46	2.51	2.56
Greeks								2.53	2.34
Poles								1.88	1.97
Russians									1.95
Total ethnics									2.42
Total natives									2.56

than do the Irish, their rate of mobility is no greater than that of the Irish.

The Jews, first significantly measurable in 1913, appear with an index of 3.10 in that year, indicating an occupational status equivalent to exclusive identification with the lower (2-a) of the two classes in the exchange-control occupational category. In the two decades following, the Jewish index increases .12 and .10, or a total of .22, which is exactly the increment to the index of the Irish between 1850 and 1893. Therefore, in their first decade year the Jews reach a much higher occupational status than do either the Irish or the French Canadians and are more mobile occupationally, on the average, than are the latter groups. [. . .]

Up to this point each consecutive group reviewed, with the exception of the Jews, exhibits a higher occupational index in its first decade year than that of the group immediately preceding it in chronological appearance in Yankee City, indicating that the occupational hierarchy had become increasingly receptive to the entrance of new ethnics. [. . .]

By 1933 the eight ethnic groups are arranged along the Yankee City occupational scale, by index number, in the following ascending order: Russians, 1.95; Poles, 1.97; French Canadians, 2.24; Italians, 2.28; Greeks, 2.34; Irish, 2.52; Armenians, 2.56; and Jews, 3.32. The index for total ethnics is 2.42; for total natives, 2.56.

The occupational status index applied above is nothing more than a device for stating in a convenient form the *average* rating of the occupational status of a group in terms of its aggregate advance from the base of the lowest occupational class. But, as in the case of all statements of central tendency, it is necessary to indicate the degree of scatter. This will be undertaken in the simple form of an account of the distributions of each ethnic group, per one hundred of its employed population, among the three major categories and the six classes of the Yankee City occupational hierarchy. [. . .]

SOCIAL CLASS OF THE ETHNIC GENERATIONS

Upon first establishing himself in Yankee City, the ethnic finds himself in the anomalous position of «belonging» to no local social class and having the identification only of «foreigner.» He has brought with him little or no property; he has little familiarity, unless he is Jewish, with the type of economic system represented in Yankee City; he conforms hardly at all to the American behavioral modes—in short, the deviations in his social personality are so marked as to preclude relations with the natives except those of an impersonal economic type. Even in the religious aspect, all ethnic groups, with the exception of the Armenians, are variants from Yankee City's solid, native Protestantism.

At first settlement, therefore, the ethnic is an alien in terms of American law, his social personality, and social-class affiliation. An ethnic informant asserted that he felt himself looked upon as «some kind of a strange animal.» The Irish relate, probably symbolically, that before their first pastor arrived the natives had pictured Catholic priests as having «cloven hoofs.»

In a sense the ethnic is originally outside the Yankee City class system, but he has a minimum of status by reason of his positions in both the city's residential and occupational hierarchies. Later he appears in a partially differentiated subclass within the lower-lower class but is still not accorded complete equivalence of status with the natives of that class level. [. . .]

All of the ethnic groups have advanced themselves in the class system. Some of them have made very great headway; others show little change from the time of their entry. Despite their upward movement, none of them has advanced into the upper-upper (old-family) level. The Irish, the oldest group, are the only people who have entered the lower-upper class. The French Canadians, Jews, Italians, Armenians, and Greeks have risen to the upper-middle; and a few Poles and Russians have climbed to the lower-middle class.

The class indices of the ethnic groups in 1933 are: Poles, 1.1; Russians, 1.35; Greeks, 1.55; French Canadians and Italians, 1.7; Armenians, 1.9; Irish, 2.3; and Jews, 2.4. The index for total ethnics is 1.98 and for total natives, 2.5.

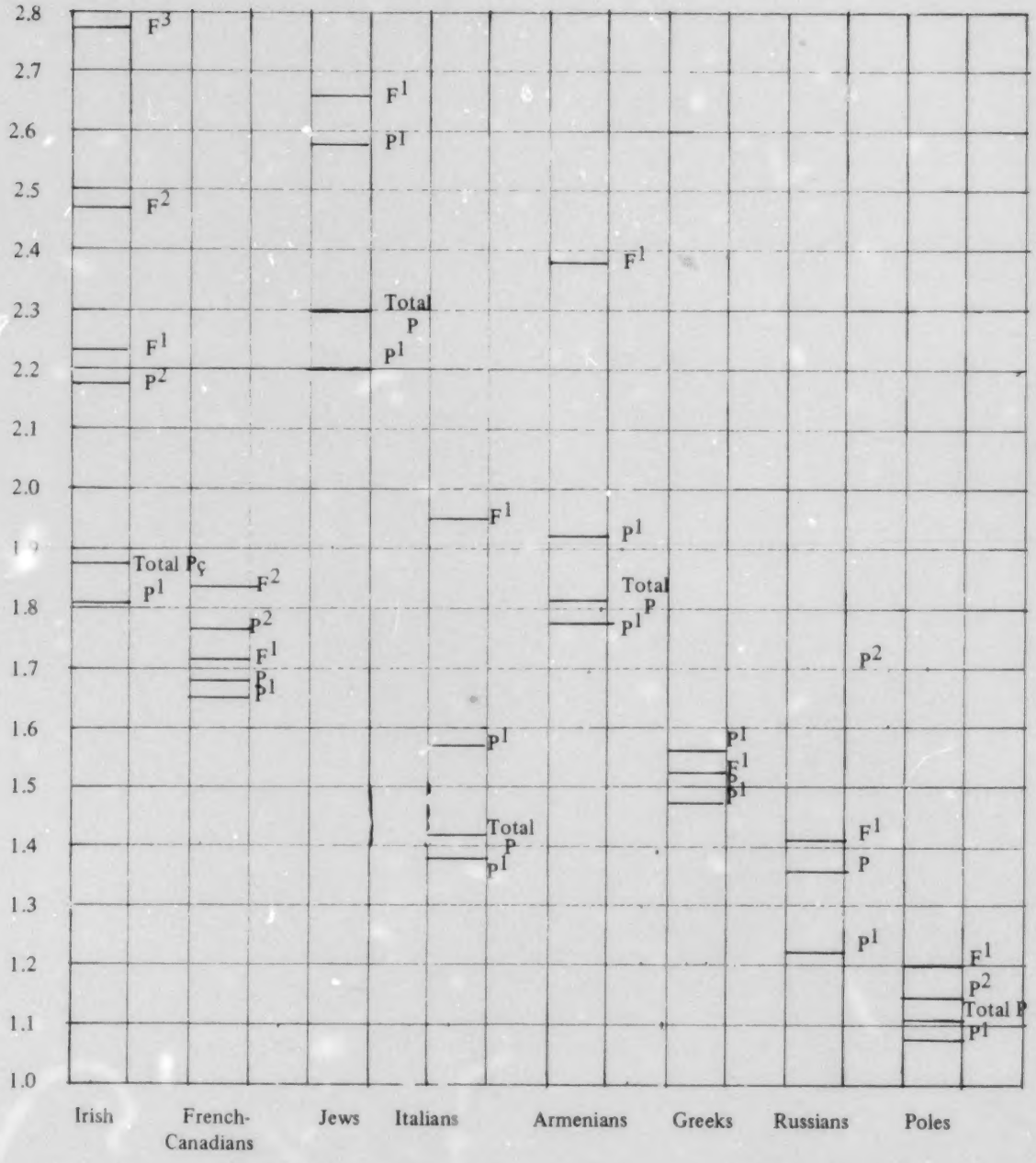
Since a progressively larger proportion of individuals in each successive native-born (F) generation are not socially mature and therefore incapable as yet of rising in the social scale, any comparative measure of social mobility of different generations should be based only on those numbers eligible for class advancement. Hence the distributions presented below are in terms of that part of each generation which is above the age of eighteen in 1933. The F^1 generation, by definition, includes the offspring of both the P^1 and P^2 generations. In the analysis of generation trends, therefore, it is necessary that the class distributions of the F^1 generation be compared with the distributions of the combined P^1 and P^2 generations. [. . .]

By the way of summary of the [. . .] generation distributions among the class levels, we have calculated the class index for each generation in every group and have plotted them in Figure 14. As in the case of all our generation statistics, there is a wide disparity in the size of the populations, both among generations within the same group and among corresponding generations of different groups; therefore computations on such varying populations are necessarily of uneven value. Nevertheless, the indices represented in Figure 14 demonstrate that each generation within a group consistently attains a higher than average class status than does the generation preceding. No significant exception is the fact that in certain instances the P^2 index exceeds that of the F^1 generation, since the latter must be compared with the index of its parents—who, by our classification, are the combined P^1 and P^2 generations. And in all cases the F^1 index is uniformly greater than the «total P.» What is an apparent anomaly, namely, that among four groups the P^2 index surpasses that of the F^1 generation, may be explained by the fact that among the Greeks, Russians, and Poles the F^1 generation has emerged to maturity in too recent years to have exhibited the class advance normal for this generation among the other ethnic groups. That the P^2 index is greater then the F^1 among the French Canadians, however, cannot be attributed to this age condition, and the only source to which it can be traced is, probably, the difference in the numbers within each of the two generations (77 in the P^2 and 414 in the F^1). [. . .]

COMPARISON OF MOBILITY BY ETHNIC GROUPS AMONG HIERARCHIES

Graphically, all groups except native appear to describe a status line approximating the shape of an «L,» either in the normal or inverted position. Specifically, two facts appear: (1) All groups, with two exceptions, show an occupational index higher than the residential—the deviation being relatively small for the Armenians, Greeks, and Italians, and very large for the Jews, Poles, and Russians. The two exceptions are the French Canadians, with whom the two indices are identical, and the Irish, whose residential in-

Fig. 14. *Scale of Social-Class Indices of All Generations in Each Ethnic Group*



dex is somewhat the higher of the two. (2) All groups, except the Russian, have a class index lower than either of the other two indices—the total deviation being very large for all groups except the Irish. However, among the Russians the class index is slightly higher and among the Jews and Poles slightly lower than the residential index; but for all three of these groups the former is still far below the occupational index.

Do these facts mean that in general ethnic mobility is more rapid in the residential than in the class hierarchy, and in the occupational than in the residential hierarchy? There is a sequential pattern among the ethnic movements in the three hierarchies which precludes quite so simple a conclusion. Two further facts may be recalled: (1) All ethnic groups (except the Irish), in their first important decade year, achieve higher positions in the occupational than in the residential hierarchy. (2) While mobility through the subsequent decades proceeds in the occupational hierarchy at a more-or-less uniform rate for most groups, in the residential hierarchy it develops at an accelerating rate.

While an ethnic group generally begins with the residential status lower than the occupational, acceleration of mobility in the former in time brings the two indices close together. Among the two newest groups in Yankee City, i.e., the Russian and the Polish, residential mobility has not had time to acquire sufficient momentum to cut down the considerable gap between the residential and the occupational indices. With the next older groups—the Italian, Armenian, and Greek—residential status has advanced until the index is little below the occupational index. With the French Canadians the two indices have reached a point of coincidence. And with the oldest group of all, the Irish, the residential index actually exceeds the occupational. The Jews are exceptional in that they are one of the oldest ethnic groups and yet show a deviation between their occupational and residential indices as wide as those of the two youngest groups. The special factor present in this case is that the Jewish group entered at such a high occupational position and moved so rapidly in the hierarchy that its residential mobility, rapid as it has been, could only narrow the gap by 1933. [. . .]

To summarize, the degree of ethnic approximation to the statuses of the natives is correlated primarily with the length of the group's establishment in Yankee City. That is, all groups have progessively climbed toward higher positions in the three hierarchies. However, certain secondary factors have produced differences in the rates of mobility among the various groups.

Factors for retardation of status mobility:

1. Original migrational intention of temporary settlement (South Italians, Greeks, Poles).
2. Family structure with patterns of maintaining customary status and of parental determination of status (French Canadians).
3. Order of a group's appearance in the city, both because the earliest group encounters local conditions which no longer operate when later groups arrive and because, to a certain extent, the earliest group reduced resistance to and cleared the way for the advance of later groups (Irish).
4. Large group population, a condition increasing the resistance to mobility (Irish and French Canadians).
5. Proximity to the homeland, a factor for the slowing of the acculturative processes and therefore for the curbing of status advance (French Canadians).

Factors for acceleration of status mobility:

1. Similarities between the ethnic ancestral society and Yankee City in general social-organization type (Jews).
2. Similarities between the ethnic ancestral society and Yankee City in the religious aspect of culture (Armenians).

Notes

1. In at least one American ethnic group, the Japanese, the generation we have distinguished as the P^2 is explicitly named «Hansei,» i.e., «half immigrant.» Likewise, the P^1 generation is called «Issei,» i.e., «immigrant,» the F^1 generation group labeled «Nisei,» i.e., «first native-born generation; » and «Sansei» is applied to the generation we have designated F^2.

2. The regions called zones here correspond only roughly to the «areas» in Part 1. The «residential zones and sections» were fashioned to meet the needs of the ethnic analysis and are based on the more general evaluation of the territory of Yankee City made by its citizens. The correspondence between the sections and zones and the «areas» of Part I is: Section I-E includes all of Riverbrook and those parts of Oldtown, Uptown, Business District (up to the railroad tracks), Downtown, and Middletown which are nearest the river; II-E includes the remainder of the six areas up to Hill Street; I-W includes all of Littletown and the river sections of the Business District beyond the railroad tracks, Homeville, and Newtown; Zone III includes all of Hill Street, the central section of Newtown and Oldtown, and the territory of Middletown, Uptown, Business District, Centerville, and Hometown contiguous to Hill Street; and Zone IV includes the extremities of all the areas which extend beyond Hill Street.

3. It must be emphasized that the values attached to the several areas are arbitrary and have principally a serial value. The fact that Area I-W is given a numerical value of 2 and Area I-E is given a value of 1 does not imply that the former has twice as much status value as the latter. It means only that Area I-W is one level higher in the residential scale than is Area I-E. Our purpose is to measure the average advance of a group in terms of such levels.
We have allowed two exceptions to our assignment of values in a series of 1. Given the residential and social-class characteristics of Area IV, it is felt that movement to this area, let us say, from Area I-W cannot be considered equivalent to an advance of a full level, such as, for example, would be represented by movement from Area I-E to I-W. Hence, we have considered Area IV as being a half-step between Areas I-W and II-E. On the same grounds, movement from II-W to Area III, covering Hill Street, is by no means equivalent to movement from II-E to II-W. For that reason movement to Area III has been considered the equivalent of two steps upward from II-W.

4. The category of professional occupations can be divided, of course, into subsidiary classes; since the number of individuals found in the professions in Yankee City is comparatively small, this division was not made. Depending upon the context, the professional occupations will be treated as comparable with either the other two occupational categories or the occupational classes.

5. Distribution of ethnic groups in the occupations, through time, is treated comprehensively in Leo Srole's doctoral dissertation.

6. In the above values, Class 1-c (the skilled-craft occupations) is judged to be insufficiently higher than Class 1-b (the skilled-factory occupations), at least in Yankee City, to warrant being weighted a full added unit. Likewise, Class 3 (the professionals) is felt to involve a considerably longer step from Class 2-b than does 2-b, for example, from 2-a, and, accordingly, has been assigned a value of 6.

In this article, first published in Recherches Sociographiques, *demographer Leon Bouvier presents 1950 data on the relative deprivation of second generation French-Canadian-origin persons in New England with regard to education, median income, and occupation. It is to be noted that first generation (foreign-born) were not as deprived, relatively, as the second generation (native-born of mixed or foreign parentage).*

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE FRENCH CANADIANS IN THE UNITED STATES

by

Leon F. Bouvier

Translated from the French by Suzanne A. Hatfield

In order to analyze the socio-economic status of the French-Canadians living in the United States, we will utilize three indices: level of education, average income, and occupation.

Using each of the indices, we will compare the population of French-Canadian extraction with the national average for white Americans. We will also compare the French-Canadian group with the Irish, Italian and Polish groups for the entire United States and for New England. The three ethnic groups were chosen because of their relative importance in New England for the period during which they emigrated and for their religious characteristics. The groups resemble the French-Canadians in each respect. Anyone familiar with New England knows that these minorities often competed in the struggle for social advancement. Our comparison of the four ethnic groups will be restricted to New England. Most of the French-Canadians live there; so there is no reason to extend the comparison to the entire United States even though there are important pockets of the three other groups elsewhere than in New England.

According to the 1950 American census,[1] the white population from age 14 and up had attended school for an average of 10.1 years. Among this population, those born in the U.S. had completed an average 10.4 years of study; those of foreign or mixed parentage, 10.3 years; and the foreign born, 8.2 years. Table 1 traces a phenomenon which is constantly observed. In general, the foreign born French-Canadians find themselves on equal footing, if not a step ahead of the other groups. However, second generation French-Canadians invariably fall

Table 1

Median Number of Years of Education Completed By the Population Aged 14 and Over, 1950: United States

Ethnic Group	Born Abroad	Born in the U.S. of Foreign and Mixed Parentage	Increase
Total population white	8.2	10.3	+2.1
French-Canadian	8.2	8.9	+0.7
Irish	8.4	10.6	+2.2
Italian	5.3	10.3	+5.0
Polish	6.0	10.1	+4.1

Table 2

Median Number of Years of Education Completed By the Population Aged 14 Years and Over, 1950: New England

Ethnic Group	Born Abroad	Born in the U.S. of Foreign and Mixed Parentage	Increase
French-Canadian	7.6	8.8	+1.2
Irish	8.3	11.4	+3.1
Italian	5.2	10.5	+5.3
Polish	4.8	10.5	+5.7

behind the other ethnic groups of the second generation. In education the latter, wishing to become Americans as soon as possible, rapidly gained ground compared with their predecessors of the first generation. In other respects, the French-Canadian concern for *«la survivance»* appears to have been in opposition to assimilation.

The same is apparent in the New England data where the comparisons are even more significant. The second generation French-Canadians completed 1.2 more years of study than those of the first generation. The gains are 3.1 years among the Irish, 5.3 among the Italians and 5.7 among the Polish. The gains realized by the Italians and the Polish, two groups that came later than the French-Canadians, are particularly noteworthy. (Table 2).

The French-Canadian lag is probably due to the parents' desire to maintain French tradition in the family. Once the children had completed their studies at French parochial schools, their parents feared they would lose their language, their culture and their religion if they attended public secondary schools. French secondary schools were indeed rare in New England; those with the means sent their children to the classical schools in the province of Quebec. Many families took their children away from their studies to put them to work in the textile factories.

The absence of French secondary schools was the object of a bitter controversy within the Catholic Church: the «Sentinelliste Agitation» of the 1920's. Many French-Canadians opposed the efforts of

Table 3

Median Income of the Population Aged 14 Years and Over, 1950: United States

Ethnic Group	Born Abroad	Born in the U.S. of American Parents and Mixed Couples	Increase
Total population (white)	$2,181	$2,314	+$133
French-Canadian	1,958	2,010	+ 52
Irish	1,970	2,309	+ 339
Italian	2,301	2,293	– 8
Polish	2,267	2,476	+ 209

with the 526 for the Irishmen, 481 for the Italians and 486 for the Poles.

The indices established for New England and presented in Table 5 again illustrate the French-Canadians' resistance to assimilation into the American «melting pot.» Among first generation immigrants, the French-Canadians in 1950 occupied a position somewhat higher than the Irish and the Italians, but they trailed the Poles. Yet they occupied the bottom rung among the second generation immigrants belonging to the same ethnic groups.

There is clearly a link between the indices relating to occupation and the data relating to educational level. As we have noted, French-Canadian parents were not inclined to enroll their children in English-speaking schools. In a way, they preferred that their children choose lower-level occupations rather than risk seeing them lose the faith and the language of their ancestry in English-language secondary schools and colleges. In contrast, the Polish, the Italians and especially the second generation Irish systematically tried to adapt to the American mainstream, particularly by attending secondary schools.

The particular characteristics of the French-Canadian group in the United States have elsewhere been studied. Warner reached analogous conclusions in his Yankee City study. Anderson, as well, in his monograph of Burlington, Vermont showed that the French-Canadians were distinct among the city's other ethnic groups.

The consequences of this voluntary segregation, on the part of the French-Canadians are clear enough. Consider, for example, the proportion of professional men among the working population of the various ethnic groups compared here. In 1950, four percent of foreign born French-Canadians and five percent of second generation French-Canadians belonged to this occupational category. Between the two generations, the proportion increased from 3.5 to 12% among the Irish, from 2.5 to 5.7% among the Italians and from 2.4 to 5.8% among the Polish. These observations appear particularly significant if we take in account the importance traditionally attached to professions by the French-Canadian family.

Our analysis of the social status of the French-Canadians in the United States constitutes an initial investigation, but it exposes a manner of behavior which differs quite distinctly from that of other ethnic groups. The French-Canadians did not improve their social status as rapidly as the other ethnic groups. This fact is accounted for, it seems, by their firm determination to preserve their mother-tongue and their French culture; had they not done so, they feared, they would have strayed from the Catholic faith. For those who had emigrated

Table 5

Status Indices of Certain Ethnic Groups of New England Set Up After a Scale of Occupations, 1950

Ethnic Group	Born Abroad	Born in the U.S. of Foreign Parents and Mixed Couples	All of Persons Born Abroad
French-Canadians	452	464	463
Irishmen	408	539	526
Italians	414	486	478
Poles	464	485	481

Bishop Hinckley of Providence to establish an English-language secondary school from diocesan funds. The *«survivance»* of their children seemed to them jeopardized by attendance of Irish schools. It was believed that loss of language would lead to loss of faith, even in Catholic schools.[2]

To determine the socio-economic status of the French-Canadians in the U.S., the second index is median income for those 14 and over at the 1950 census. The median salary for the whole population was $ 2,053; that of people born in the U.S. of American parents was $ 1,938; that of first generation Americans, $ 2,314. The higher income of Americans of foreign descent is readily explained by taking account that the great majority of Americans from the Southern states are native born. These states have always ranked lowest on the scale of income. Here again, French-Canadians are inferior to both the national average and the averages for the Irish, Italians and Polish. One notes, however, an unexplained drop for second generation Italians.

Statistics for New England reveal like disparities. As emphasized by the data in Table 4, the income of the second generation French-Canadians was lower than that of the other groups. We may note in particular the very marked rise in income of second generation Irish compared with that of their predecessors.

Our third index is no doubt the most significant: occupational level. Our method is patterned on that utilized by Nam in 1959 and by Lieberson in 1963.[3]

Making use of a technique inspired by Edwards' socio-economic occupational scale, Nam compared the first and second generations of ten ethnic groups of European extraction.[4] He was thus able to show that «most of these ethnic groups rose along the social stratification scale and that some attained a higher level than the groups properly considered to be Americans by birth.[5] For nine of the ten ethnic groups studied by Nam, a rise in social status between the first and second generations is noted; this is particularly the case for the Irish, the Italians and the Polish.

On the basis of census data from 1910, 1920, 1940 and 1950 for ten large American cities, Lieberson, for his part, studied the phenomena of ethnic segregation and assimilation. He observed that «from the standpoint of their position on the occupational scale, the second generation groups inhabiting metropolitan areas in 1950 were situated closer to the groups considered American by birth than were the first generation immigrants.[6]

In his study, Lieberson has divided the wage-earning population into nine categories quite similar to those used by the Bureau of the Census, adopting a scale similar to that proposed by O. and B. Duncan.[7] He assigned values to the selected categories; 9 for the professional class; 8 for landowners and farmers; 7 for the managerial class; 6 for shop-assistants and salesmen; 5 for craftsmen and foremen; 4 for production workers; 3 for servants and domestics; 2 for agricultural workers and 1 for the remaining wage-earners. For the various ethnic groups, he multiplied the percentages of employees within each category by the appropriate indices. The result indicates the social standing of each ethnic group as well as the social status of persons belonging to the first and second generations in a given ethnic group.

For the entire white population of the U.S., the index was 540. It settled at 547 for persons considered to be Americans by birth and at 514 for persons of foreign extraction. For first and second generation French Canadians, the index settled at 479, compared

south, the subject of *«la survivance»* retained the same importance that it did among the French-Canadians of Quebec. In that respect the clergy was able to play a fundamental role, in New England as well as in Quebec. In New England the adversary was the Irishman rather than the Englishman. As an institution, *«la survivance»* had a manifest function: preservation of the language, traditions, and the faith; but it also had a less obvious effect: the loss of a generation in the process of integration into American society. Thus, it doesn's seem that Hansen's law can be verified in the case of the French-Canadians of New England.

Notes

1. The following tables were taken from: United States Government, Bureau of the Census, *Nativity and Parentage*, op. cit.

2. J.A. Foisy, *The Sentinellist Agitation in New England* (Providence: The Providence Visitor Press, 1930).

3. Charles B. Nam, «Nationality Groups and Social Stratification in America,» *Social Forces*, XXXVII, (May 1959); Stanley Lieberson, Ethnic Patterns in American Cities, (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1963).

4. Abba Edwards, *Comparative Education Statistics for the United States; 1870-1940*, (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943).

5. Charles B. Nam, ibid., 333.

6. Stanley Lieberson, ibid., 17.

7. Otis and Beverly Duncan, «Residential Distribution and Occupational Stratification,» *American Journal of Sociology*, LX, (May 1955), 493-503.

Is the Franco-American phenomenon the leading edge of social and cultural change among all French-Canadians? Some evidence in this direction had already been found by Leon Bouvier in his article on changes in French-Canadian fertility in Canada and the United States first published in the now-defunct journal Sociological Analysis. *Bouvier detected not only declining fertility from 1850 to 1940, but he also noted an accelerated decline in the United States branch of the French kinship group as compared to the Canadian branch. Not only is average family size smaller in the American branch, but the differences in family size between the two groups increase during the period 1850-1920.*

A GENEALOGICAL APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF FRENCH CANADIAN FERTILITY 1650-1950

by

Leon F. Bouvier

Demographic data from the genealogy of one French-Canadian family extending from 1650 to 1950 were utilized for computing fertility statistics for the French-Canadian ethnic group in both Canada and the United States. These findings were then compared to available information for French Canada in an attempt to determine the validity of this methodology in deriving demographic statistics. This comparison led to the conclusion that, whenever official data are either non-existent or unavailable, genealogical information based on «typical families» can be of value in historical demography.

This article is an application of genealogical information to the historical demographic study of French Canada. It will try to determine whether fertility changes over time can be noted and studied through a close analysis of the genealogy of one family. By comparing these data with the available published information for French Canada, it will then be possible to arrive at a tentative conclusion as to the merits of the genealogical approach to the study of fertility.

PUBLISHED DATA

Early French-Canadian birth rates were among the highest ever recorded. Sabagh, commenting on the fertility of French-Canadian women in the seventeenth century, stated: «On the basis of measures commonly accepted as indicating reproductive levels, it is quite evident the French-Canadian population of the seventeenth century was extraordinarily fertile.»[1] There can be no doubt that this is an exceptional group bent on a tremendous desire for survival.[2] This includes the maintenance of culture, language and religion.

The French-Canadian censuses for 1666, 1667, and 1681 yield some information on which to base estimates of fertility performance in that period. According to Sabagh, the crude birth rate for that period was about 51 per 1000 population. He goes on to state that «the estimated total fertility for New France was 12,008 births per 1000 women passing through the childbearing period in 1666; 10,680 in 1667; and 9,667 in 1681.»[3]

The information for eighteenth-century French Canada is derived from Jacques Henripin's work with early genealogies of the total French-Canadian group.[4] Henripin estimates that the crude birth rate for French Canada varied between 54.2 and 65.2 in the period 1700-1770. He further estimates that the number of children ever born per complete family for the first half of the century was 8.39. Thus it appears that the fertility remained very high in French Canada throughout the eighteenth century.

Beginning with the 1831 provincial census it was possible to determine the crude birth rates for the French-Canadians. The rate for the 1831-1840 period was 60.1 per 1000. As this is very similar to the last figure computed by Henripin for the decade of the British victory, it can be assumed that the birth rate remained around 60 per 1000 for the years between 1770 and 1830. The four decades following 1831-1840 had rates of 55.6; 45.6; 45.0; and 47.3, respectively. These rates were derived by taking the baptismal totals and dividing by the total population as determined by the provincial censuses in Quebec.[5]

After 1884, vital statistics were compiled by the Province of Quebec, and the rates from that year forward were taken from official publications. The decline first noted in the mid-nineteenth century continued into the twentieth century. The crude birth rate for the 1881-1890 period was 38.2 per 1000. By the 1921-1930 decade, the crude birth rate was at a low of 27.0 per 1000.

These figures are only representative of French-Canadian fertility in Quebec. By the end of the nineteenth century, emigration to New England had developed to large proportions. Much as this group tried to maintain its «survivance», it was bound to be affected somewhat by the culture and educational processes of the majority in New England. Unfortunately, there are no data on French-Canadian fertility in New England. It would seem that the fertility behavior of these southern migrants would be similarly affected. This paper will yield some information on this matter.

SOURCE OF DATA FOR THIS STUDY

As far as this writer has been able to discern, the use of one family genealogy to describe demographic changes is rare in population studies. Yasuba mentions it as a possible means of arriving at early United States death rates.[6] Crum turned to the genealogical records of New England families to examine childlessness.[7] Henripin, in his aforementioned study of eighteenth-century French Canada, utilized a genealogy of the entire French-Canadian group for his data.

Between 1880 and 1900, a French-Canadian bishop, Joseph Tanguay, devoted much of his energy to the compiling of a genealogy of the entire French-Canadian group from the time of its early migration in the first decade of the seventeenth century to the mid-nineteenth century. This monumental effort was never completed by Tanguay but it enabled other genealogists to compile the histories of many French-Canadian families. Furthermore, it was relatively simple to bring Tanguay's data up to date with the improvement in the gathering of statistics by the provincial government. This has been the source, not only of Henripin's work, but also indirectly of this present study. Actually, the source of the data was the genealogy of the «Dumont» family of Canada and the United States, completed in 1948 by Adelard Beauvilliers.[8] The early statistics in his work were derived from the Tanguay genealogy of French Canada. Beauvilliers then proceeded to bring it up to date. Thus the data flows from the parish, and later the provincial, records of Quebec. The information on the migrants to the United States was taken from the various vital statistics offices in the cities and towns of New England and New York.

Based on these official and semi-official records, each entry in the «Dumont» genealogy includes the place of birth; the date of birth; the place and date of marriage and death of the husband and wife. It also includes the wife's maiden name or the husband's surname; the total number of children ever born from this mating; the names

TABLE I

NUMBER OF CASES IN «DUMONT» GENEALOGY
BY PLACE AND DATE OF MARRIAGE

Date of Marriage	Location of Marriage		
	Canada	U. S.	Total
Before 1700	4	0	4
1700-1724	1	0	1
1725-1749	5	0	5
1750-1774	3	0	3
1775-1799	6	0	6
1800-1824	17	0	17
1825-1849	33	1	34
1850-1874	46	36	82
1875-1899	89	88	177
1900-1924	132	185	317
1925	37	60	97
Total	373	370	743

and sex of the offspring; the dates and place of each birth; the dates (if necessary) of each child's death. From this information it was possible to compute average sizes of families by year of marriage and location; age of bride and groom at time of marriage; length of marriage; infant mortality rates; average spacing of births by parity for both time and location of marriage. This paper will deal only with family size data but other pertinent information is available and will be the topic of a forthcoming paper.[9]

Occasionally some information was lacking. Failure to state the dates of either birth or marriage of females automatically resulted in exclusion from the study. The failure to include the date of death was not a cause for elimination if it was obvious from other information that the female had lived through the normal reproductive period with her husband. Lack of information concerning date of birth, death or marriage of males was not a cause for elimination if it could be ascertained elsewhere that the marriage lasted until the end of the reproductive period of the female. Any marriage in which the bride was 40 years of age or more was also eliminated. The year 1925 was decided upon as the cut-off date of marriage for completed families, as the genealogy has information only until 1945. For these various reasons, it was necessary to eliminate 243 cases from the overall study. This left a total of 743 families to be analyzed. Of these, 97 were married since 1925 and are not considered completed families. The other 646 are completed, having met all requirements. These were classified according to date of marriage and location of marriage (Table I).

DEMOGRAPHIC FINDINGS BASED ON THE GENEALOGY

Perhaps the most significant information derived from this genealogy was the average size of completed families—or, more correctly, the average total number of children ever born to married women in the study.[10]

TABLE 2

FAMILIES IN THE «DUMONT» GENEALOGY
BY SIZE OF FAMILY AND DATE OF MARRIAGE

Children per Family	Before 1700	1700 to 1749	1750 to 1799	1800 to 1824	1825 to 1849	1850 to 1874	1875 to 1899	1900 to 1924	Total
0	1	0	0	0	0	4	14	44	63
1	0	0	0	0	0	2	11	43	56
2	0	0	0	1	1	4	15	45	66
3	0	0	1	2	2	2	24	35	66
4	1	1	1	0	2	4	16	33	58
5	1	0	0	1	2	5	15	27	51
6	0	0	0	1	1	9	19	21	51
7	0	1	0	0	3	8	12	11	35
8	0	1	0	4	3	5	3	15	31
9	0	1	1	0	1	11	10	9	33
10	0	0	2	2	5	7	12	9	37
11	0	0	0	2	5	8	6	7	28
12	0	1	0	1	5	4	10	10	31
13	1	0	1	0	2	4	2	2	12
14	0	0	1	1	0	4	3	3	12
15	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	2	6
16	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	5
17	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
19	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
20	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2
Total	4	6	9	17	34	82	177	317	646
Av. Size	5.56	9.33	10.9	8.83	9.24	7.76	5.75	4.14	5.58

Each family was tabulated and all live births were counted. The size of these families ranged from 0 to 20 children. The 646 completed families gave birth to 3,606 children—an average of 5.58 per family. Of greater significance is the differential that is exhibited over time. This can be seen in Table 2.

The data for the years prior to 1700 are too limited to be of value. Beginning with 1700 the average family size remains between 8.8 and 10.9 until 1850. The highest of these, 10.9, was for the period between 1750 and 1799. This is in line with previous information which indicated that the already high fertility rate of French-Canadians rose still more immediately following 1763 and the change of regime. «It is for the period 1761-1770 that the rate is the highest. This period immediately follows the conquest of Canada by the British.»[11]

The general and steady decline which began around 1850 became more pronounced in the 1875-1899 period when it reached a new low of 5.75 children ever born per family. The twentieth century, with its increasing emphasis on urbanization, industrialization, and secularism, witnessed a further decline in total family size—4.14 in the 1900-1924 period.

The same gradual decrease in family size is to be noted here that was seen in the

TABLE 3

FAMILIES IN THE «DUMONT» GENEALOGY BY SIZE OF FAMILY, DATE AND LOCATION OF MARRIAGE (FROM 1850)

Children per Family	1850-1874		1875-1899		1900-1924		1925-up		Totals*	
	Can	U.S.	Can	U.S.	Can	U.S.	Can	U.S.	Can	U.S.
0	3	1	7	7	13	31	6	6	30	45
1	0	2	5	6	8	35	6	20	19	63
2	1	3	3	12	9	36	4	23	19	74
3	0	2	10	14	14	21	9	6	38	43
4	3	1	3	13	12	21	3	4	26	39
5	3	2	8	7	13	14	3	0	31	23
6	4	5	9	10	13	8	3	0	31	23
7	2	6	9	3	5	6	1	1	21	16
8	3	2	2	1	9	6	2	0	24	9
9	8	3	7	3	5	4	0	0	23	10
10	6	1	8	4	8	1	0	0	31	6
11	3	5	4	2	7	0	0	0	21	7
12	2	1	6	4	9	1	0	0	25	6
13	3	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	9	3
14	3	1	2	1	3	0	0	0	10	2
15	0	0	3	0	2	0	0	0	6	0
16	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	5	0
17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
19	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
20	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0
Total	46	36	89	88	132	185	37	60	373	370
Av. Size	8.20	7.19	6.81	4.68	5.92	2.87	3.95	1.78	6.72	3.56

* The totals for Canada include the offspring of marriages prior to 1850 (See Table 2). The totals for the United States include one marriage in 1847. This case yielded 17 offspring. To preserve space and simplify the table, these were not included in the table proper.

analysis of the total French-Canadian population. However, the sharp decrease after 1875 is difficult to explain unless it is recalled that migration to New England did not get into full swing until about that time. The first marriage involving a «Dumont» in the United States took place in 1847, and the number of American matings has increased ever since. By the 1875-1899 period, there were about as many marriages in the United States as in Canada. In the twentieth century there were 245 marriages in the United States as compared to 169 in Canada.

Table 3, which subdivides the families into Canadian and American married, yields interesting information. With the exception of the representation of one family in the 1825-1849 period, the family size is consistently smaller among American families. Furthermore, this difference becomes greater over time. The longer the exposure to the American culture, the greater the difference in total family size between the two groups of French-Canadians. In the 1850-1874 period, American marriages yielded families that were 12 per cent smaller than those of

TABLE 4

AVERAGE AGE AT MARRIAGE FOR FEMALES IN «DUMONT» GENEALOGY BY DATE AND LOCATION OF MARRIAGE

Date of Marriage	Canada	United States	Total
Before 1700	22.5	–	22.5
1700-1749	21.6	–	21.6
1750-1799	21.8	–	21.8
1800-1824	21.8	–	21.8
1825-1849	20.7	–	20.7
1850-1874	20.6	21.0	20.8
1875-1899	22.1	22.9	22.5
1900-1924	23.0	23.4	23.3
1925-up	23.4	23.8	23.7

Canadian marriages. In the 1875-1899 period, this difference rose to 32 per cent; the difference was 52 per cent in the 1900-1924 period. Although both groups have witnessed a decreasing family size, the American-married have had smaller families from the earliest days of the movement across the border, and this difference has grown with length of residence in the United States. Furthermore, as Table 3 indicates, the still lingering tendency for French-Canadians in Canada to occasionally produce large families is not apparent among the Americans of the same ethnic stock. Since 1900, those having ten or more offspring have been only about 2 per cent of the total married in the United States as compared to 23 per cent among those married in Canada.

From the «Dumont» genealogy it was possible to compute average family size by age of mother at time of marriage, and by length of marriage. It was also possible to compute the average age of females at the time of their marriages. It was thought that perhaps age at marriage might in some way be a causal factor in explaining the differences in fertility behavior between Canadian and American married couples. This was not indicated by the data as Table 4 clearly shows. There has been very little change in average age at marriage in time and location. What little change there has been shows a slight tendency to marry at a later age in the twentieth century in both the United States and Canada. The difference between the two places of marriage is so negligible as to preclude its being even a partial explanation of differential fertility. The average family size by age of mother at time of marriage yielded expected information. With increasing age at marriage the size of the family decreases. This is also true of average family size by length of marriage. A longer marriage indicates a larger family.[12] Though expected, this information does give additional credence to the claim that a family genealogy can be a reasonable and representative sample of a homogeneous ethnic group.

THE GENEALOGY AS A METHOD OF STUDYING A CHANGING POPULATION

The purpose of this paper has been to determine if genealogies could be used as

substitutes for official information when the latter is unavailable. Two assumptions were implied and should be stated at this time. First, the genealogy chosen must be that of a family that is fairly representative of the total population being studied. Second, no claim is made that the results will be as accurate as those derived from census and vital statistics data. It is merely hoped that the use of genealogies will serve as an adequate substitute when official data are not available or non-existent.

It is, of course, impossible to determine statistical representativeness in this type study. The «Dumont» family appears representative of French-Canadians in general. During the first two centuries they were mostly *«habitants»* of the Province of Quebec. Most of the migrants to New England settled in the French-Canadian centers such as Fall River and Woonsocket. In analyzing the American marriages by state, Massachusetts is first, followed by Rhode Island. This follows the pattern of the general French-Canadian migration across the border. With the development of the Canadian northwest, there has been some movement from Quebec to the prairie provinces. There are islands of French-Canadians, especially in Manitoba. This is represented in the «Dumont» genealogy. Of the 373 Canadian marriages, 38 took place outside of Quebec. All but two were performed in either Manitoba or Saskatchewan.

The «Dumont» family apparently remained quite homogeneous, if we are guided by the sound of the surnames. There was some marrying outside the group, but this did not appear until well into the twentieth century. It was always the minor exception and took place in the United States and not in Canada. This behavior too is typical of French-Canadians.

Does the information derived from this genealogy approximate the other findings compiled for this ethnic group? Some of the principal features of French-Canadian fertility were the very high birth rates from the seventeenth century until well past the middle of the nineteenth century. This was followed by a gradual decline which began very slowly in the late 1800's and increased in tempo in the twentieth century. This same general picture is shown in the «Dumont» genealogy. If there were no outside sources to refer to, if this were the only available source of data, it would give present-day demographers a fairly accurate picture of the changing fertility behavior of French-Canadians over the past 300 years. It would also indicate the changes that occurred in that behavior with migration and eventual mixing with a foreign culture in the United States.

To be more specific, the last estimate in the seventeenth century for family size was 9.67; the first Henripin figure for the first half of the next century was 8.33. The data from the «Dumont» genealogy for the period between 1700 and 1749 yielded an estimate of 9.33 children ever born per married woman. There was evidence of an increase in fertility at the end of the French regime in 1763. This too was reflected in the genealogy which recorded an average family size of 10.9 children ever born in the 1750-1799 period. The nineteenth century saw a continuation of the high fertility levels of the previous decades. It was not until the mid-century that the crude birth rate fell below 45 per 1000. By the final quarter it had fallen into the thirties. The «Dumont» genealogy yields similar findings. The average family size remained high until 1850, being 8.85 in the first quarter of the century, and 9.24 in the second quarter. A steady decline began in 1850 and it has never subsided. The twentieth century gave evidence that the fertility behavior of French-Canadians was finally approaching the level of other Canadians. The increasing demands for a better economy,

the inroads of industrialization and urbanization, the developing secular approach to present-day problems together with a weakening of the ultra-montane Catholicism prevalent in previous years, these all had their effect on French-Canadian fertility. This was reflected in the «Dumont» genealogy from which it is estimated that the average family size in the 1900-1924 period was down to 5.92 among Canadian married. From the evidence on incomplete families, it appears that this was lowered again by mid-century. This would be very similar to the Charles findings based on the 1948 census.[13]

There are no comparative outside sources of information for French-Canadians living in the United States. The information derived from the «Dumont» genealogy does give actual figures that bear out the assumptions that such a migration would normally result in lower birth rates. Despite strong religious attachments, and despite the convenience of short distance to the ancestral home, the culture of the majority eventually affected the behavior of the new minority as reflected demographically. Here there is an example of a devout Roman Catholic ethnic group reacting to the pressures of conflicting values. The evidence that the transplanted French-Canadians remained loyal to the religious beliefs is overwhelming. Nevertheless, urban living and co-mingling with non-Catholics perhaps were at least partial factors in the lowering fertility among the New England French-Canadians.

Summarizing the findings based on the genealogy of the «Dumont» family: it is felt that, if a genealogy is chosen for its representativeness of the people being studied, if this genealogy is relatively accurate and complete, if the researcher realizes its shortcomings and is careful to eliminate questionable material, the results can be of demographic value in an area where no official statistics are available. Further studies are needed, preferably based on family genealogies belonging to other ethnic groups, before this method can be accepted to describe historical demographic changes. It is hoped that this paper may serve as a suggestion for such further study. That further studies are needed in this field has been aptly stated by Kingsley Davis:

> American demographers have been inactive in discovering and analyzing historical data. They have left almost untouched nearly forty surveys of population during the American colonial era, and have made little use of local records.[14]

Notes

1. Georges Sabagh, «The Fertility of French-Canadian Women During the Seventeenth Century,» *American Journal of Sociology,* 43 (1942), 685.

2. The concept of «survivance» has been discussed elsewhere. See especially, Everett Hughes, *French-Canada in Transition,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943; Mason Wade, *The French-Canadian Outlook,* New York: The Viking Press, 1946; Horace Miner, *St. Denis: A French-Canadian Parish,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939; Leon Bouvier, «La Stratification Sociale du Groupe Ethnique Canadien-Français aux États-Unis,» *Recherches Sociographiques,* 5 (1964), 371-379.

3. Sabagh, *op. cit.,* 688.

4. Jacques Henripin, *La Population Canadienne au Debut du XVIII Siecle,* Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1954.

5. Georges Langlois, *Histoire de la Population Canadienne-Française,* Montreal: Editions Albert Levesque, 1935. See also, Henripin, *op. cit.,* for a defense of this method of deriving birth rates.

6. Yasukichi Yasuba, *Birth Rates of the White Population of the United States: 1800-1860,* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1962, 18.

7. Fred C. Crum, «Decadence of the Native American Stock,» *Journal of the American Statistical Association,* 14 (1914), 218.

8. Adelard Beauvilliers O.S.B., *Dictionnaire des «Dumont,»* Belmont, N.C.: Belmont Abbey Press, 1948.

9. Leon F. Bouvier, *A Genealogical Approach to the Study of French-Canadian Fertility: 1650-1950,* M.A. Thesis, Brown University, Providence, R.I., 1964.

10. Since the number of children reaching maturity by family was not computed, family size will refer to total number of children ever born to married women.

11. Henripin, *op. cit.,* 40.

12. To shorten the length of this paper, these tables were not included. They are available on request.

13. Enid Charles, *The Changing Size of the Family in Canada,* Ottawa: Edmund Cloutin, C.M.G, 1948.

14. Kingsley Davis, «The Sociology of Demographic Behavior,» in Robert Merton, Leonard Broom, and Leonard Cottrell, Jr. (eds.), *Sociology Today,* New York: Basic Books, 1962, 326.

In July of 1975, the well-respected Current Population Survey of the U.S. Bureau of the Census included questions on language use. The findings presented here indicate that French is the fourth most used non-English language in the United States, whether one speaks of usual language or second language.

LANGUAGE USAGE IN THE UNITED STATES: JULY 1975

Advance report issued July 1977
by the
U.S. Department of Commerce
Bureau of the Census

The data presented in this report are from the Current Population Survey conducted in July 1975 by the Bureau of the Census. Supplementary questions bearing on language usage and on education were included in the survey at the request and with the support of the National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. This is an advance report and is to be followed by a more detailed Census Bureau report on the same subject later this year.

As a Nation, few Americans are bilingual. Nine out of every ten persons reported that they had no second language. Of those who did report a second language either English or Spanish was that second language in slightly more than half the cases, with Spanish being reported as the second language almost as often as English (4.3 million persons to 4.9 million). Other languages reported as the second language of a million or more persons 4 years old or over included French, German, and Italian.

Spanish is the second most widely used language in the United States, following English. About 4 million persons (4 years old and over) reported Spanish as their usual language; about 96 percent of all persons (4 years old and over) reported English as their usual language.

In addition to questions on the current usage of language by individuals, the survey also asked about the language generally used by the household at home. About 1-1/2 million households reported that Spanish was the usual household language. These households contained close to 5 million persons (4.8 million) 4 years old and over, but it should be noted that many of these people also spoke English as the usual language. In fact, the survey showed that a rather significant proportion (20 percent) of persons in these households reported English as their individual language.

The age distribution of the population in the various language groups reflects the variations in age structure among ethnic groups rather than peculiarities inherent within the language. Nevertheless, it is of interest to examine broad age patterns of various language groups because of different consequences resulting from language problems at various points along the life cycle. Although most languages shown here have been reported as the usual language of too few persons to provide estimates that are reliable enough for analysis by age groups, there are, however, some significant deviations. For example, only about 5 percent of persons whose usual language is Italian are of elementary and high school age—between the ages of 6 and 17—compared with 21 percent of those whose usual language is Spanish. Also, although only 11 percent of the total population are 65 years and over, 44 percent of

those whose usual language is Italian are in this age group.

The survey also asks questions about the difficulty with English, and of the 8 million persons 4 years old or over for whom English was not reported as the usual language, around 5 million (approximately 60 percent) reported difficulty in speaking or understanding English. Difficulty with English was reported by 54 percent of the 4 million persons whose usual language was Spanish and between 300,000 and 400,000 of these reported themselves as enrolled in school at some time during the 1974-75 school year.

Of the approximately 450,000 persons 4 years old and over who reported Italian as their usual language—the next largest group after Spanish reporting a usual language other than English—about two-thirds reported difficulty with English.

In general, for persons whose usual language is other than English, the percentages having difficulty with English tended to be lower among persons of elementary and high school ages than those of other age groups. Presumably there is a greater exposure to English among persons in the 6-to-17-year age group, virtually all of whom are enrolled in school. In all, there were 46.6 million persons in the 6-to-17-year age group, of whom 1.4 million (or 3 percent) reported a usual language other than English. And of the 1.4 million, approximately 600,000 (or 45 percent) reported difficulty with English.

The estimates in this report are derived from a sample and are therefore subject to sampling error. The sampling error is primarily a measure of sampling variability, that is, of the variations that occur by chance because a sample rather than the whole of the population is surveyed. However, all the statements of comparison in this report are statistically significant at a level of more than 2.0 standard errors. This means the chances are at least 19 out of 20 that a specified difference cited in the text indicates a true difference in the population. A more complete statement on the variability due to sampling, as well as more detailed information about language usage, will be issued in a later report in this series.

Table 1. USUAL LANGUAGE SPOKEN BY PERSONS 4 YEARS OLD AND OVER, BY BROAD AGE GROUPS: JULY 1975

Usual language of person	Persons		Percent by age						
	Number (thousands)	Percent	Total, 4 years and over	4 and 5 years	6 to 17 years	18 to 24 years	25 to 44 years	45 to 64 years	65 years and over
All languages	196,796	100.0	100.0	3.6	23.7	13.3	26.7	21.9	10.8
English	188,799	95.9	100.0	3.6	24.0	13.4	26.5	22.0	10.7
Spanish	4,027	2.0	100.0	5.5	21.4	12.5	34.7	18.0	7.9
Chinese	280	0.1	100.0	4.8	11.9	12.8	29.8	26.2	14.6
Filipino	112	0.1	100.0	1.3	12.5	6.2	34.0	30.1	15.7
French	270	0.1	100.0	0.7	2.2	10.1	18.0	35.3	33.8
German	132	0.1	100.0	2.5	7.5	3.5	29.8	30.3	26.5
Greek	124	0.1	100.0	1.1	17.2	5.5	30.7	25.1	20.4
Italian	447	0.2	100.0	0.7	5.1	4.5	18.1	28.0	43.6
Japanese	111	0.1	100.0	4.0	7.3	0.8	43.1	21.8	22.9
Korean	90	–	100.0	2.2	20.4	7.4	49.3	10.0	10.7
Portuguese	110	0.1	100.0	7.5	8.4	6.4	38.5	25.8	13.3
Other	812	0.4	100.0	1.7	10.1	8.7	28.3	20.6	30.6
Not reported	1,477	0.8	100.0	3.1	21.4	17.7	25.3	20.7	11.7

– Represents zero or rounds to zero.

Table 2. USUAL LANGUAGE SPOKEN IN HOUSEHOLDS: JULY 1975

Usual language of household	Households		Persons 4 years and over in households[1]	
	Number (thousands)	Percent	Number (thousands)	Percent
All languages	73,320	100.0	196,796	100.0
English	68,986	94.1	185,545	94.3
Spanish	1,484	2.0	4,822	2.5
Chinese	114	0.2	353	0.2
Filipino	44	0.1	122	0.1
French	128	0.2	285	0.1
German	60	0.1	157	0.1
Greek	51	0.1	161	0.1
Italian	200	0.3	522	0.3
Japanese	44	0.1	109	0.1
Korean	36	–	123	0.1
Portuguese	44	0.1	143	0.1
Other	407	0.6	966	0.5
Not reported	1,722	2.3	3,487	1.8

– Represents zero or rounds to zero.
[1] This distribution differs from that in table 1 because persons are classified here by the usual language for the household, whereas table 1 classifies persons by their own usual language.

Table 3. SECOND LANGUAGE SPOKEN BY PERSONS 4 YEARS OLD AND OVER: JULY 1975

Second language of person	Persons 4 years and over	
	Number (thousands)	Percent
Total	196,796	100.0
With second language	17,369	8.8
English	4,942	2.5
Spanish	4,284	2.2
Chinese	198	0.1
Filipino	210	0.1
French	1,187	0.6
German	1,277	0.6
Greek	265	0.1
Italian	1,442	0.7
Japanese	267	0.1
Korean	92	–
Portuguese	173	0.1
All other languages	3,033	1.5
No second language	177,964	90.4
Not reported whether second language	1,463	0.7

– Represents zero or rounds to zero.

Table 4. SECOND LANGUAGE SPOKEN IN HOUSEHOLDS: JULY 1975

Second language of household	Households		Persons 4 years and over in households [1]	
	Number (thousands)	Percent	Number (thousands)	Percent
Total	73,320	100.0	196,796	100.0
With second language	8,578	11.7	24,810	12.6
English	2,279	3.1	6,993	3.6
Spanish	1,650	2.3	5,189	2.6
Chinese	70	0.1	196	0.1
Filipino	72	0.1	255	0.1
French	700	1.0	1,990	1.0
German	842	1.1	2,131	1.1
Greek	108	0.1	327	0.2
Italian	805	1.1	2,331	1.2
Japanese	122	0.2	418	0.2
Korean	41	0.1	126	0.1
Portuguese	89	0.1	206	0.1
All other languages	1,800	2.5	4,648	2.4
No second language	62,876	85.8	168,191	85.5
Not reported whether second language	1,867	2.5	3,795	1.9

[1] This distribution differs from that in table 3 because persons are classified here by the second language for the household, whereas table 3 classifies persons by their own second language.

Table 5. PERSONS REPORTING ENGLISH OR SPANISH AS USUAL OR SECOND LANGUAGE, IN TOTAL AND IN COMBINATION: JULY 1975

Usual and second language	Persons 4 years and over	
	Number (thousands)	Percent
Total	196,796	100.0
Usual language of person:		
Usual language English, total	188,799	95.9
Usual language English, second language Spanish	4,212	2.1
Usual language Spanish, total	4,027	2.0
Usual language Spanish, second language English	2,934	1.5
Usual language other than English or Spanish	2,493	1.3
Usual language not reported	1,477	0.8
Second language of person:		
Second language English, total	4,942	2.5
Second language Spanish, total	4,284	2.2
Other second language	8,143	4.1
No second language	177,964	90.4
Not reported whether second language	1,463	0.7

Table 6. PERSONS 4 YEARS AND OVER WITH USUAL LANGUAGE OTHER THAN ENGLISH, BY DIFFICULTY IN ENGLISH AND SCHOOL ENROLLMENT STATUS: JULY 1975

(Numbers in thousands)

Characteristic	Total persons, 4 years and over	Enrolled in school at anytime since September 1974		Not enrolled in school since September 1974	
		Number	Percent of total	Number	Percent of total
Language other than English, total	7,997	1,935	24.2	6,062	75.8
With difficulty in English[1]	4,913	930	18.9	3,983	81.1
Percent with difficulty	61.4	48.0	(X)	65.7	(X)
Usual language of person with difficulty:					
Spanish	2,176	359	16.5	1,817	83.5
Chinese	147	11	7.8	136	92.2
Filipino	23	(B)	(B)	(B)	(B)
French	83	2	2.2	81	97.8
German	33	(B)	(B)	(B)	(B)
Greek	75	12	16.1	63	83.9
Italian	300	2	0.5	299	99.5
Japanese	85	8	9.9	76	90.1
Korean	57	(B)	(B)	(B)	(B)
Portuguese	80	–	–	–	–
Other	399	56	14.0	343	86.0
Not reported	1,454	455	31.3	999	68.7
With no difficulty in English[2]	3,084	1,006	32.6	2,078	67.4

– Represents zero or rounds to zero.
B Base less than 75,000; no subsets shown.
X Not applicable.
1 Only persons reporting a language other than English were asked about difficulty in English.
2 Includes persons who did not report as to difficulty.

Table 7. PERSONS AT SELECTED AGES BY WHETHER USUAL LANGUAGE WAS ENGLISH AND WHETHER DIFFICULTY WITH ENGLISH: JULY 1975

Subject	Total persons, 4 years and over	4 and 5 years	6 to 13 years	14 to 17 years	18 to 24 years	25 years and over
Total persons (thousands)	196,796	7,065	29,879	16,762	26,211	116,879
Usual language English (thousands)	188,799	6,743	28,902	16,335	25,260	111,560
As percent of total persons	95.9	95.4	96.7	97.4	96.4	95.4
Usual language other than English[1] (thousands)	7,997	322	977	428	951	5,320
As percent of total persons	4.1	4.6	3.3	2.6	3.6	4.6
With difficulty in English[2] (thousands)	4,913	223	462	175	561	3,492
As percent of persons with usual language other than English	61.4	69.3	47.3	40.9	59.0	65.6

[1] Includes persons for whom usual language was not reported.
[2] Only persons reporting a language other than English were asked about difficulty with English.

Table 8. USUAL AND SECOND LANGUAGE OF PERSONS REPORTING ENGLISH OR SPANISH AS USUAL HOUSEHOLD LANGUAGE: JULY 1975

Characteristic	Persons 4 years and over	
	Number (thousands)	Percent
Usual household language English, total	185,545	100.0
Usual language of person:		
English	183,547	98.9
Spanish	285	0.2
All other and not reported	1,714	0.9
Second language of person:		
Spanish	3,299	1.8
English	559	0.3
Chinese	112	0.1
Filipino	180	0.1
French	1,128	0.6
German	1,212	0.7
Greek	220	0.1
Italian	1,285	0.7
Japanese	244	0.1
Portuguese	131	0.1
All other and not reported	4,130	2.2
No second language	173,045	93.3
Usual household language Spanish, total	4,822	100.0
Usual language of person:		
Spanish	3,734	77.4
English	975	20.2
All other and not reported	113	2.3
Second language of person:		
English	2,731	56.6
Spanish	960	19.9
All other and not reported	110	2.3
No second language	1,021	21.2

The combination of a mother-tongue question for all population classifications in the 1970 population census of the United States, with the availability of a «Public Use Sample» on tape, made possible the generation of social and economic data on the Franco-Americans by Madeleine Giguère. Drawn from the one-in-a hundred sample of the 1970 census, it documents the commonly-observed higher fertility and concentration in production-line work of French mother-tongue persons in Maine. Giguère's article also calls attention to the predominantly urban character of that population, to its rising levels of education and to a family income level only slightly lower than that of the English mother-tongue population. Giguère also includes general distributional data for the entire United States. In addition, a demographic map of the six New England states showing percentage of French mother-tongue population and keyed to Giguere's study will be found in the Appendix of this volume.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROFILE OF FRENCH AND ENGLISH MOTHER TONGUE PERSONS: MAINE, 1970

by

Madeleine Giguère

INTRODUCTION

This report is the first of a series of reports on persons of French Mother Tongue in the United States. Included in this report are selected social and economic characteristics obtained from the 1970 U. S. Census of Population.

In 1970, for the first time since 1940, a sample of all persons regardless of place of birth were asked what language, other than English, was usually spoken in the person's home when he was a child. If more than one foreign language was spoken, respondents were to indicate the principal one. The exact question asked was: «What language, other than English, was spoken in this person's home when he was a child?»

Spanish	Other, specify
French	None, English only
German	

This profile reports on the «French» and the «English only» respondents in the State of Maine. Definition of other population concepts used here may be found in U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1970, Census of Population, *General Social and Economic Characteristics*, PC(1)-C21-Maine, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

Since only sex, age, race, marital status, and relationship to head of household were asked on a 100% basis in the Census of Population, the data presented here are derived from the 15% sample questionnaires used in the 1970 Census. Some of these data are published in the publication mentioned above and in U. S. Bureau of the Census, Population: *1970 Detailed Characteristics* PC(1)-D21-Maine, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1972.

Most of the statistics presented in this profile were computed from the basic data made available on tape, The Public Use Sample of Basic Records From the 1970 Census, File 102. This is a one-in-one-hundred sample of Maine households which contains one fifteenth of all 15% basic records. Since the statistics in this report are based on sample data, they are subject to sampling variability. In all but one table from the Public Use Sample tape, the size of the sample is indicated. The one exception was made for purposes of simplification. For a detailed explanation of the sample design and sampling variability, see the reports mentioned above and U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Public Use Samples of Basic Records from the 1970 Census: Description and Technical Documentation*, Washington, D. C., 1972.

The format of the «Profile of Maine and the New England Division», a computer-produced release of the U. S. Bureau of the Census, was followed insofar as the available data permitted.

I. GENERAL

Maine is one of four states with more than 10% of its population with a French Mother Tongue:

Louisiana	15.4
New Hampshire	15.2
Maine	14.2
Rhode Island	10.7

Maine is one of eight states with more than 100,000 persons with a French Mother Tongue:

Louisiana	572,262
Massachusetts	367,194
New York	208,801
California	200,784
Connecticut	142,118
Maine	141,489
New Hampshire	112,278
Rhode Island	101,270

II. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION

Mother Tongue

Of Maine's 993,663 persons living in Maine in April 1970, 141,489, or 14.2%, had a French Mother Tongue. There were 31,360 persons, or 3.2% of the total population, with other non-English Mother Tongues.

Mother Tongue of the Population
Maine: 1970

	Number	Percent
Total Population	993,663	100.0
English Only	786,920	79.2
French	141,489	14.2
German	4,428	0.4
Hungarian	236	0.0
Italian	5,462	0.5
Polish	2,515	0.3
Russian	624	0.1
Spanish	1,850	0.2
Swedish	1,848	0.2
Yiddish	1,746	0.2
All Other	12,651	1.3
Not Reported	33,894	3.4

Age

In 1970, 30.7% of the French Mother Tongue population was under 15 years of age and 8.8% was 65 years of age and older. The comparable percentages for the English Mother Tongue population were 27.6% and 13.1%.

Age Distribution of French and English Mother Tongue: Maine, 1970

Age	Mother Tongue	
	English	French
	(percent)	
0-4	8.2	9.4
5-14	19.4	21.4
15-24	17.0	16.7
25-34	11.0	11.4
35-44	10.0	11.5
45-54	11.5	11.6
55-64	9.8	9.4
65 and over	13.1	8.8
	100.0	100.0
(N)	(6,461)	(2,190)

Family Characteristics

Of the families containing French Mother Tongue persons and consisting of two or more related persons, 92.2% were headed by males and 7.8% were headed by females. The comparable percentages for the English Mother Tongue were 90.1 and 9.9.

The median size of primary families containing French Mother Tongue persons was 3.49 as compared to 3.02 for the English Mother Tongue families.

Of heads of French families, 60.8% had children of their own under the age of 18 living with them as compared to 55% of the heads of all families.

Of the French-language population 8.8% were not living with family or relatives, while 12.4% of the English-language persons were living in comparable situuations; this

Residence in 1965 for
French and English Mother Tongue Persons: Maine, 1970

	English	French
	(percent)	
Same house (nonmovers)	57.3	62.7
Different house in the U. S.		
Same county	25.3	23.8
Different County (migrants)		
Total	14.9	10.3
Within State	7.0	4.8
Between States	7.9	5.5
Abroad at beginning of period	0.9	0.8
Moved, residence in 1965 not reported	1.7	2.5
Total	100.1	100.1
(N)	(5,897)	(1,978)

included 4.1% in group quarters as compared to 2.1% among the French.

Mobility of the Population

About 37.3% of the French Mother Tongue population in Maine in 1970 moved between 1965 and 1970. Of these known movers, 63.1% moved within the same county. Comparable figures for the English were 42.7% and 58.5%. Among the French movers, 14.6% came from another state, while 18.2% of the English Mother Tongue movers came from another state. Another 2.0% (French) and 2.1% (English) came from abroad.

Nativity

Among the French Mother Tongue population in Maine in 1970, 86.9% were of native birth as compared to 97.9% of English Mother Tongue persons. Foreign stock, that is, persons who were foreign born or were children of at least one foreign-born parent, accounted for 49.2% of the French Mother Tongue population as compared to 12.5% of the English Mother Tongue population.

Nativity and Parentage for French
and English Mother Tongue Persons: Maine, 1970

	English		French	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	786,920	100.0	141,489	100.0
Native	770,724	97.9	122,908	86.9
Native Parentage	689,556	87.6	71,828	50.8
Foreign or Mixed Parentage	81,168	10.4	51,080	36.1
Foreign Born	16,196	2.1	18,581	13.1

Country of Birth of Parents, French and English Mother Tongue: Maine, 1970

	English	French
	(percent)	
Total	100.0	100.0
United States	87.7	64.7
Canada	8.5	32.7
Other Foreign	3.7	1.8
Not Reported	0.1	0.9
(N)	(6,461)	(2,190)

Country of Origin

Among the French Mother Tongue population 34.5% had parents who were born in foreign countries, compared to 12.2% in the English population. Of these persons with foreign-born parents, 95% of the French parents came from Canada whereas 68.5% of the English parents came from Canada.

Race

One tenth of one percent of French Mother Tongue persons were Negro as compared to three tenths of one percent of English Mother Tongue persons. Another one tenth of one percent of the French Mother Tongue sample was Indian, the same percentage as for the English Mother Tongue sample.

Veteran Status

Of the males fourteen years old and older and not currently in the Armed Forces, 43.2% of the French Mother Tongue persons were veterans. The comparable percentage of English Mother Tongue persons was 40.4%.

School Enrollment

There was little difference in school enrollment between the French and English Mother Tongue groupings for the mandatory school attendance ages; both groups reported over ninety percent in school enrollment throughout this age sequence. For the age groups 18-21, the French reported five percentage points less of school enrollment.

Educational Attainment

Of the population 25 years old and over of French Mother Tongue, 42.9% had a grade school education or less; 37.3% had attended four years of high school or more, including 10.5% who had some college education. For the English Mother Tongue population, the figures were 17.6% with a grade school education or less, 60.9% with four years of high school education or more, including 22.3% with some college education or more. About 4.1% of the French Mother Tongue population had a college education or more, as compared to 9.4% among the English Mother Tongue population.

School Enrollment by Age
For French and English Mother Tongue: Maine, 1970

	English		French	
Age	Percent	Number	Percent	Number
4 and 5	88.0	624	87.0	239
7 thru 13	96.2	629	95.6	229
14 and 15	91.2	375	92.4	145
18 and 19	65.3	213	60.9	64
20 and 21	35.7	227	30.4	69
22 thru 24	12.1	282	12.6	87

Highest Grade Attended
For Population 25 Years Old and Over
For French and English Mother Tongue: Maine, 1970

	English	French
Persons 25 years and over	100.0%	100.0%
Never Attended	0.5	1.6
Elementary : 1 - 7	4.6	21.1
8 years	12.5	20.2
High School : 1 - 3	21.4	19.8
4 years	38.6	26.9
College: 1 - 3	12.9	6.3
4 years or more	9.4	4.1
(N)	(3,578)	(1,152)

Among the French Mother Tongue population 25 - 34 years of age, 15.2% had a grade school education or less, 59.2% had a high school education or more, and 5.6% had completed college. The comparable figures for the English Mother Tongue population are 8.8%, 73%, and 13.2%.

Highest Grade Attended
For French and English (Ages 25 - 34): Maine, 1970

	English	French
Population 25 - 34 years of age	100.0%	100.0%
Never Attended	0.6	0.0
Elementary: 1 - 7	2.0	6.8
8 years	6.2	8.4
High School: 1 - 3	18.2	25.4
4 years	48.1	43.6
College: 1 - 3	11.7	10.0
4 years or more	13.2	5.6
(N)	(709)	(250)

Labor Force Status

The labor force in Maine in 1970 contained 57.6% of the French Mother Tongue population of 14 years and over, as compared to 53.8% of the English Mother Tongue population. The unemployment rate was 4.3% for the French Mother Tongue as compared to 37.3% for the English Mother Tongue. These unemployment rates are based on the civilian labor force.

Females constituted 39.3% of the French civilian labor force, and 37.3% of the English civilian labor force.

Labor Force Status
By Sex for French and English Mother Tongue: Maine, 1970

	English		French	
	(N)	Percent	(N)	Percent
Both Sexes				
Total 14 yrs and over	(4,790)	100.0	(1,554)	100.0
Labor Force	(2,578)	53.8	(895)	57.6
Civilian Labor Force	(2,506)	52.3	(885)	56.9
Employed	(2,413)	50.4	(847)	54.5
Unemployed	(93)	1.9	(38)	2.4
Armed Forces*	(72)	1.5	(10)	0.6
Not in Labor Force	(2,212)	46.2	(659)	42.4
Male				
Total 14 yrs and over	(2,249)	100.0	(728)	100.0
Labor Force		73.3		74.6
Civilian Labor Force		70.2		73.2
Employed		65.1		70.6
Unemployed		2.0		2.6
Armed Forces*		3.1		1.4
Not in Labor Force		29.8		25.4
Female				
Total 14 yrs and over	(2,541)	100.0	(826)	100.0
Labor Force		39.3		42.6
Civilian Labor Force		39.2		42.6
Employed		37.3		40.3
Unemployed		1.9		2.3
Armed Forces*		0.1		0.0
Not in Labor Force		60.7		57.4

*Stationed in Maine.

Class of Worker

Of the employed persons of French Mother Tongue, 83.9% worked for wages or salary for a private company, business or individual, as compared to 75.4% among English Mother Tongue employed persons. Another 10.2% of the employed French worked for local, state or the federal government, whereas 16.1% of the English Mother Tongue persons did. The self-employed represented 5.3% of the employed French and 7.9% of the employed English. The remaining 0.6% of employed persons of both groups were unpaid family workers.

Class of Worker for
Mother Tongue Groupings: Maine, 1970
(percent)

	English	French
Total Employed	100.0	100.0
Class		
Private wage or salary	75.4	83.9
Government worker	16.1	10.2
Federal	5.1	3.8
State	4.1	2.5
Local	6.9	3.9
Self-employed Worker	7.9	5.3
Unpaid Family Worker	0.6	0.6
(N)	(3,642)	(1,209)

Major Occupations

More French Mother Tongue persons were employed as operatives than in any other occupational category. The second and third largest occupational fields were craftsmen and kindred workers and clerical and kindred workers respectively. For the English Mother Tongue, the first three ranking occupations were operatives, clerical work, and service occupations other than private household work. Below is a table showing the major occupation categories as identified by the United States Government for French and English Mother Tongue persons residing in Maine in 1970.

Percent Distribution of Employment by
Current Occupation and Mother Tongue: Maine, 1970

	English	French
Total Employed	100.0	100.0
Professional, technical & kindred workers	11.6	5.9
Managers & administrators	7.6	5.4
Sales workers	6.5	6.8
Clerical workers	15.0	13.4
Craftsmen & kindred workers	11.4	15.5
Operatives	17.9	25.8
Transport	3.6	3.8
Laborers, except farm	7.0	5.4
Farmers & Farm Managers	1.0	0.5
Farm laborers & foremen	2.9	2.6
Service, except private household	12.8	12.8
Private household workers	2.6	2.1
(N)	(3,670)	(1,199)

Major Industries

Among French Mother Tongue persons there were more employed in manufacturing of nondurable goods than in any other industrial category. The second and third largest industrial employers were wholesale and retail trade and professional and related services. Among the English Mother Tongue, trade, manufacturing of nondurable goods, and professional and related services were the leading employment industries.

Industry of the Employed
For French and English Mother Tongue: Maine, 1970
(percent)

	English	French
Total Employed	100.0	100.0
Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing, and Mining	6.2	4.2
Construction	5.2	5.6
Manufacturing	28.1	39.4
Durable Goods	10.2	8.9
Nondurable Goods	17.9	30.5
Transportation, Communication, and Other Public Utilities	5.2	3.3
Wholesale and Retail Trade	19.9	21.4
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	3.9	3.3
Business and Repair Services	1.6	2.1
Personal Services	7.3	5.2
Entertainment and Recreation Services	0.7	0.6
Professional and Related Services	17.1	12.3
Public Administration	4.5	3.4
(N)	(3,564)	(1,196)

Income

In 1970, 12.5% of the French language persons lived in families with less than a poverty level of income, as compared to 12.8% of English Mother Tongue persons. At the other end of the income scale, 22.5% of French persons lived in families where the family income was more than three times the low-income level, as compared to 27.1% of English persons.

The terms «poverty» and «low-income» are used interchangeably in Census Bureau publications. Low-income status is based on estimated minimum income needs for various family sizes and rural and urban residence, officially adopted for statistical purposes by the U. S. Government.

The low-income level was, for instance, about $ 3,700 for a four-person family in 1969.

Ratio of Family Income to Poverty Level for Mother Tongue Persons: Maine, 1970 (percent)

Ratio	English	French
Under 50	4.7	3.2
50 to 74	3.5	4.7
75 to 99	4.6	4.6
100 to 124	7.4	5.7
125 to 149	7.5	7.9
150 to 199	16.5	18.9
200 to 299	25.2	30.8
300 and over	27.1	22.5
N. A.	3.5	1.7
TOTAL	100.0	100.0
(N)	(6,461)	(2,190)

Mean Personal Income by Highest Grade Attended, by Sex by Mother Tongue: Maine, 1970

	English		French	
	M	F	M	F
All*	$5,267	$2,112	$4,964	$2,220
Never Attended	3,273	1,000	1,583	833
Elementary	3,152	1,415	3,752	1,705
Completed Elementary	3,859	1,189	4,791	2,298
Some High School	4,144	1,443	4,680	1,754
Completed High School*	5,656	2,326	5,653	2,453
Some College	5,103	2,379	5,833	2,814
Completed College	8,266	3,463	6,560	**

* Over 100 in each sample. ** Less than 25 cases.

The mean income of all females with a French Mother Tongue is $2,220 compared to $2,112 for English Mother Tongue females. French women earned more at each educational level than English women, except for those with no formal education and those with a college education. The mean income of all males with a French Mother Tongue is $4,964, as compared to $5,267. French males earned more than English males in the educational levels of elementary, some high school and some college levels. High school graduates when classified by sex earned approximately the same amounts whether of French or English Mother Tongue.

Finally, when the income of heads of household are considered, the median income of French heads of household was $5,050 as compared to $5,404 for English heads of household.

Distribution of Income of Heads of Household for English and French Mother Tongue: Maine, 1970 (percent)

	English	French
All Heads	100.0	100.0
Less than $3,000	27.2	26.0
$3,000 - $4,999	17.0	19.4
$5,000 - $6,999	21.0	21.4
$7,000 - $9,999	20.8	23.0
$10,000 - $14,999	9.4	7.6
$15,000 or more	4.6	2.6
Median	5,404	5,050
(N)	(2,321)	(500)

III GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTIONS

State Economic Areas and Counties

The French Mother Tongue population is clustered in relatively few areas in the State of Maine. In 1970, 76.2% of the French Mother Tongue population was to be found in four counties in two State Economic Areas, 19.4% in Area I and 57.7% in Area IV. Area I is Aroostook County, the northernmost county in Maine, and Area IV contains the southernmost county (York) and is the most highly industrialized of the State Economic Areas. Within State Economic Area IV, Androscoggin County contained 25.4% of the French Mother Tongue population of Maine in 1970. York County contained 18.5% and Kennebec County contained 12.9%.

Distribution of French Mother Tongue and Total Population by State Economic Area and of French Mother Tongue by County: Maine, 1970

	French Mother Tongue		Total	
	1970	Percent	1970	Percent
Area I				
Aroostook	27,442	19.4	94,078	9.5
Area II	19,376	13.7	248,176	25.0
Franklin	1,559	1.1	22,444	
Oxford	3,612	2.6	43,457	
Penobscot	8,885	6.3	125,393	
Somerset	4,475	3.2	40,597	
Area III	1,781	1.3	137,327	13.8
Hancock	403	0.3	34,590	
Knox	211	0.1	29,013	
Lincoln	200	0.1	20,537	
Waldo	467	0.3	23,328	
Washington	500	0.4	29,859	
Area IV	81,604	57.7	321,554	32.4
Androscoggin	35,940	25.4	91,279	
Kennebec	18,264	12.9	95,247	
Sagadahoc	1,174	0.8	23,452	
York	26,226	18.5	111,576	
Area A				
Cumberland	11,286	8.0	192,528	19.4
MAINE	141,489	100.1	993,663	100.1

Population Clusters

In 1970, 66.7% of the French Mother Tongue population could be found clustered around the six cities with approximately 5,000 or more French Mother Tongue persons, namely Lewiston, Madawaska, Biddeford, Waterville, Augusta and Sanford. Below is a tabulation of the population of all the French Mother Tongue population clusters. These clusters are defined in this report as two or more adjoining civil divisions (cities, towns or plantations) with 400 or more French Mother Tongue persons.

French Mother Tongue Population Clusters: Maine, 1970

Cluster	Fr.Mo. Tongue	% of Area Population	Cumulative % of Maine Fr.Mo.Tongue
Maine	141,489	14.2	100.0
Lewiston, Auburn, Lisbon, Webster, Durham, Brunswick	36,763	38.5	26.0
Madawaska, Grand Isle, Van Buren, St. Agatha, Frenchville, Fort Kent, Wallagrass, Eagle Lake	18,040	95.2	38.7
Biddeford, Saco, Old Orchard Beach	15,676	42.3	49.8
Waterville, Winslow, Fairfield, Madison, Skowhegan	10,690	24.7	57.4
Augusta-Chelsea	6,824	28.4	62.2
Sanford-Kennebunk	6,442	30.2	66.7
Portland, So. Portland, Westbrook, Gorham	6,584	5.9	71.4
Presque Isle, Caribou, Fort Fairfield, Limestone	5,319	14.3	75.2
Bangor, Orono, Old Town, Brewer	4,891	8.0	78.6
Rumford-Mexico	2,665	19.5	80.5
Livermore Falls, Jay	1,505	20.3	81.6
Berwick-So. Berwick	953	14.4	82.2

French Mother Tongue Proportion of Total Population by State Economic Area and County: Maine, 1970

Area I	29.2	
Aroostook		29.2
Area II	7.8	
Franklin		6.9
Oxford		8.3
Penobscot		7.1
Piscataquis		5.2
Somerset		11.0
Area III	1.3	
Hancock		1.2
Knox		0.7
Lincoln		1.0
Waldo		2.0
Washington		1.7
Area IV	25.4	
Androscoggin		39.4
Kennebec		19.2
Sagadahoc		5.0
York		23.5
Area A	5.9	
Cumberland		5.9
MAINE	14.2	

Proportion of Total Population

The State Economic Area which had the highest proportion of its population with a French Mother Tongue was Area I (29.2%), followed by State Economic Area IV (25.4%). In terms of counties, Androscoggin County had 39.4% of its population with a French Mother Tongue, followed by Aroostook (29.2%), York (23.5%), Kennebec (19.2%) and Somerset (11.0%) Counties.

Urban-Rural Residence

In 1970, 73.9% of the French Mother Tongue population lived in urban areas, as compared with 50.9% of the total Maine population. The percent of the French Mother Tongue population which lived in rural nonfarm areas was 24.1; 2.1 lived on farms. The comparable percentages for the total Maine population were 44.8% and 4.3%.

Selected Localities

Below is a complete list of Maine cities, towns or plantations with 400 or more French Mother Tongue persons in 1970. These contained 84.9% of the French Mother Tongue population of Maine.

Percent French Mother Tongue for Urban and Rural Residence: Maine, 1970

	Total Population		French Mother Tongue	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Urban	505,796	50.9	104,494	73.9
Rural Nonfarm	444,818	44.8	33,961	24.0
Rural Farm	43,049	4.3	3,034	2.1
Total	993,663	100.0	141,489	100.0

Maine Cities, Towns and Plantations
With 400 or more French Mother Tongue Persons

	Total Population	Fr.Mo. Tongue	% Fr.Mo. Tongue
Ashland Town	1,809	604	33.4
Auburn	24,151	6,938	28.7
Augusta	21,945	6,419	29.3
Bangor	33,168	1,861	5.6
Berwick Town	3,136	469	15.0
Biddeford	19,983	12,268	61.4
Brewer	9,300	499	5.4
Brunswick Town	16,195	2,488	15.4
Caribou	10,419	2,470	23.7
Chelsea	2,115	405	19.1
Eagle Lake	979	933	95.3
Fairfield Town	5,684	799	14.1
Fort Fairfield Town	4,837	628	12.9
Fort Kent Town	4,587	3,929	85.9
Frenchville	1,487	1,441	96.9
Gorham	7,839	444	5.7
Grand Isle	755	736	97.5
Jackman Town	869	413	47.5
Jay Town	3,951	728	18.5
Kennebunk Town	5,578	445	8.0
Kittery Town	11,028	474	4.3
Lewiston	41,779	25,037	59.9
Limestone Town	10,360	645	7.4
Lisbon	6,649	1,135	17.3
Livermore Falls Town	3,450	777	22.5
Madawaska Town	5,622	4,977	89.1
Madison Town	4,482	628	14.7
Mexico Town	4,309	672	15.6
Millinocket Town	7,544	993	12.8
Old Orchard Beach Town	5,404	977	18.1
Old Town City	9,057	1,763	19.5
Orono Town	9,967	768	7.7
Portland	65,116	2,747	4.2
Presque Isle	11,452	1,576	13.8
Rumford Town	9,363	1,993	21.3
Saco	11,678	3,331	28.5
Sanford Town	15,722	5,997	38.1
Skowhegan Town	7,607	925	12.2
South Berwick Town	3,488	484	13.9
South Portland	23,312	906	3.9
St. Agatha	883	850	96.5
St. Francis Plantation	1,110	876	78.9
Topsham Town	5,133	674	13.1
Van Buren Town	4,102	3,844	93.9
Wallagrass Plantation	534	512	95.9
Waterville	18,192	5,456	30.0
Webster	1,623	491	31.6
Westbrook	14,444	2,487	17.2
Winslow	7,299	2,882	39.5
Winthrop	4,290	401	9.3

IV CHANGE

In 1940, the United States Census asked Mother Tongue of a 5% sample of the total population. In that year, Mother Tongue was defined as the principal language spoken in the home of the person in his earliest childhood. English was reported as the Mother Tongue only if no foreign language was spoken. The tabulations for this question are found in the U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940: Population: Nativity and Parentage of the White Population, Mother Tongue*. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1943.

Number

From 1940 to 1970, the French Mother Tongue population of Maine increased from 138,260 to 141,489, an increase of 2.3%.

Proportion

The proportion of the total Maine population which was French Mother Tongue declined from 16.3% in 1940 to 14.2% in 1970.

Percent French Mother Tongue
Of Total Urban, Rural and Rural Nonfarm Population:
Maine 1940 and 1970

	1940		1970	
	Total	French	Total	French
Total	100.0	16.3	100.0	14.2
Urban	100.0	22.3	100.0	20.6
Rural Nonfarm	100.0	13.9	100.0	7.6
Farm	100.0	8.9	100.0	7.0

Urban, Rural and Rural Nonfarm Components
For French Mother Tongue and Total Population:
Maine 1940 and 1970

	1940*		1970**	
	Total	French	Total	French
Total	847,226	138,260	993,663	141,489
Urban	342,820	76,440	505,796	104,494
Rural Nonfarm	338,140	47,180	444,818	33,961
Farm	164,760	14,640	43,049	3,034
			Percent	
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Urban	40.5	55.3	50.9	73.9
Rural Nonfarm	39.9	34.1	44.8	24.1
Farm	19.4	10.6	4.3	2.1

* White Population
** There were 104 persons of French Mother Tongue in 1970 who were other than white.

Urban-Rural

The proportion of the French Mother Tongue population which was urban increased from 55.3% in 1940 to 73.9% in 1970. The comparable change in the total Maine population was from 40.5% to 50.9%.

Nativity

The proportion of the French Mother Tongue population which was native-born increased from 78.9% in 1940 to 86.9% in 1970:

	Percent	
French Mother Tongue	1940	1970
Native		
Native Parentage	36.3	50.8
Foreign or Mixed Parentage	42.6	36.1
Foreign Born	21.1	13.1
Total	100.0	100.0
(N)	(138,260)	(141,489)

APPENDIX A

Percent French Mother Tongue Population for Selected States

Area	Total Population	Fr.Mo. Tongue	% Fr.Mo. Tongue
Maine	993,663	141,489	14.2
New Hampshire	737,681	112,278	15.2
Vermont	444,330	42,193	9.5
Massachusetts	5,688,903	367,194	6.4
Rhode Island	948,844	101,270	10.7
Connecticut	3,031,705	142,118	4.7
Louisiana	3,640,442	572,262	15.4
New York	18,236,882	208,801	1.4
New Jersey	7,168,143	44,445	0.6
Pennsylvania	11,793,864	33,723	0.3
Ohio	10,650,903	32,014	0.3
Illinois	11,109,450	51,942	0.5
Indiana	5,193,665	14,777	0.3
Michigan	8,875,068	81,684	0.9
Wisconsin	4,417,731	24,317	0.6
Minnesota	3,804,971	28,413	0.7
Missouri	4,676,495	13,980	0.3
Maryland	3,922,391	22,072	0.6
Virginia	4,648,478	22,693	0.5
Florida	6,789,383	64,378	0.9
Texas	11,195,416	90,902	0.8
Washington	3,409,161	24,540	0.7
California	19,957,304	200,784	1.0
United States	203,210,158	2,598,408	1.3

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population, 1970, *General Social and Economic Characteristics*, Selected States, Table 49.

Percentages computed by Franco-American Files, University of Maine at Portland-Gorham.

APPENDIX B

Number and Percent of Largest Foreign
Mother Tongue Populations in the United States, 1970

	Native Population	Foreign Born	Total Population	% Total Population
United States	193,590,856	9,619,302	203,210,158	100.0
French	2,187,828	410,580	2,598,408	1.3
German	4,891,519	1,201,535	6,093,054	3.0
Polish	2,018,026	414,912	2,437,938	1.2
Yiddish	1,155,877	438,116	1,593,993	0.8
Italian	3,118,321	1,025,994	4,144,315	2.0
Spanish	6,127,343	1,696,240	7,823,583	3.8

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population, 1970, *General Social and Economic Characteristics,* United States Summary, Tables 146, 147.

Percentages computed by Franco-American Files, University of Maine at Portland-Gorham.

APPENDIX C

Percent Distribution of French Mother Tongue Population
by Selected States

Area	French Mother Tongue	% French Mother Tongue
Maine	141,489	5.4
New Hampshire	112,278	4.3
Vermont	42,193	1.6
Massachusetts	367,194	14.1
Rhode Island	101,270	3.9
Connecticut	142,118	5.5
Louisiana	572,262	22.0
New York	208,801	8.0
New Jersey	44,445	1.7
Illinois	51,942	2.0
Michigan	81,684	3.1
Florida	64,378	2.5
Texas	90,902	3.5
California	200,784	7.7
Other States	376,668	14.7
United States	2, 598,408	100.0

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population, 1970, *General Social and Economic Characteristics,* United States Summary, Tables 146, 147.

Percentages computed by Franco-American Files, University of Maine at Portland-Gorham.

In the following article published in The Professional Geographer *of October, 1971, Ralph D. Vicero gives us a taste of the source material available in the pages of the U.S. manuscript census on French-Canadian immigration to the United States. This is the mother-lode which he mined for his informative doctoral dissertation «Immigration of French Canadians to New England, 1840-1900.»*

FRENCH CANADIAN SETTLEMENT IN VERMONT PRIOR TO THE CIVIL WAR

by

Ralph D. Vicero

One of the more fascinating aspects of the historical geography of New England in the nineteenth century concerns the arrival and diffusion of successive waves of different ethnic groups by which the earlier homogeneous character of the region was radically transformed. In this transformation the French Canadians played an important role. Our knowledge about this group, however, is limited and vague primarily because the published census prior to 1890 fails to make the critical English-French distinction among those enumerated as Canadian. The availability of manuscript census materials for the period from 1850 to 1880 presents an opportunity to resolve this dilemma. Using Vermont in the pre-civil War period as a case study, this paper demonstrates how these sources of evidence may be utilized to further our knowledge and understanding of French-Canadian settlement patterns in nineteenth century New England.

Early Contact with Vermont. It is well known that French Canadians began filtering into the border areas of Vermont and along the Lake Champlain lowlands shortly after the Revolutionary War. For many years the movement was irregular in character and insignificant in volume. During the eighteen-twenties there was a noticeable increase in the migration as the steadily worsening state of Quebec agriculture caused some ***habitants*** to abandon their farms and seek a better lot south of the border.

For many, especially the youth, the move often was of a seasonal or temporary nature in response to the labor needs of the lumber industry and of farming. As time passed, however, some of these migrants eventually brought families with them and became more or less permanently established in the state.

The immigration gained momentum during the eighteen-thirties when widespread failure of the wheat crops added to the woes of many hardpressed Quebec farmers. Arrivals rose sharply in 1837 and 1838 when a large but undetermined number of French Canadians sought political refuge in the wake of the abortive rebellions of these years. Although some remained, the majority gradually returned to their homes. The loss was more than balanced, however, by the continuing influx of impoverished *canadien* farmers.

The extent of the French-Canadian penetration of Vermont in these early years is difficult to assess since contemporary sources only contain information of a most general character. It is clear, however, that the center of migrant activity was in the northern and western portions of the state with a primary concentration about Burlington. For the state as a whole it is probably fair to estimate a French-Canadian population somewhat in excess of 5,000 in 1840.

French-Canadian Settlement in 1850. With the greatly expanded federal census of 1850, information becomes available which permits the researcher to gain a comprehensive knowledge of the pattern and character of French-Canadian settlement. For the first time the census enumeration recorded the names of all family members, their place of birth, and their occupation. Although information relating specifically to French Canadians was not published, the raw data have been preserved in manuscript form and were examined at the state library in Montpelier and on microfilm.

Using the surnames of those enumerated as born in Canada as the key indicator, a detailed compilation was undertaken of the population of French-Canadian origin. There are obvious pitfalls in this technique since the anglicization and distortions in the spelling of the original surnames present a variety of interpretative problems. In those cases where surnames were questionable, the decision frequently could be made on the basis of certain distinctive French-Canadian Christian names. When doubts could not be resolved satisfactorily through name analysis or through the use of secondary indicators which were developed, the individual was excluded. Where a French-Canadian female married outside the group (a not too common occurrence during the period under consideration), her identification becomes almost impossible.

The data thus obtained comprise the French-Canadian born migrants and their children traced through the male parent. In addition, the third generation, though small in number, was identified wherever possible and included in the enumeration. It must be admitted that absolute precision probably cannot be achieved through the kind of census analysis employed for this study. Nevertheless, it is the author's feeling that the data which were compiled present a fairly accurate portrayal of Vermont's French-Canadian population.

TABLE 1

FRENCH-CANADIAN POPULATION
IN VERMONT BY COUNTIES
1850 AND 1860

County	1850	1860
Addison	2,116	2,475
Bennington	43	146
Caledonia	281	437
Chittenden	2,904	4,308
Essex	17	121
Franklin	3,660	4,679
Grand Isle	805	987
Lamoille	62	254
Orange	41	126
Orleans	688	1,030
Rutland	903	1,380
Washington	419	775
Windham	2	21
Windsor	182	246
TOTAL	12,123	16,985

Source: Compiled from U.S. manuscript census, 1850 and 1860.

In 1850 this population numbered 12,123 persons. While some French Canadians were found in every county, their overall distribution was highly concentrated. This is clearly shown in Table 1 and Figure 1. More than 78 per cent were located in the four-county region of Grand Isle, Franklin, Chittenden, and Addison, which fronted on Lake Champlain. This is not entirely unexpected since the lowlands bordering the lake have served historically as the principal transport route leading southward from Quebec. Within this region, the towns of Burlington, St. Albans, and Swanton, all with more than 500 French Canadians, contained the leading migrant settlements in the state, but there were, in addition, thirty-one other towns in the four counties which could claim more than one hundred French-Canadian residents. Else-

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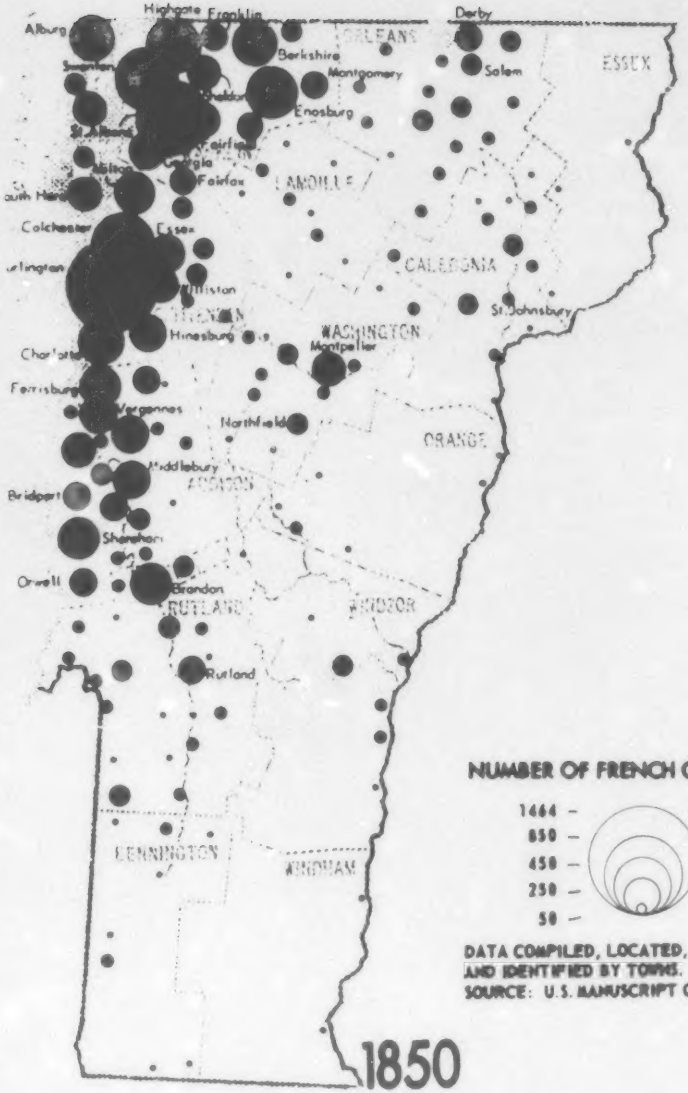
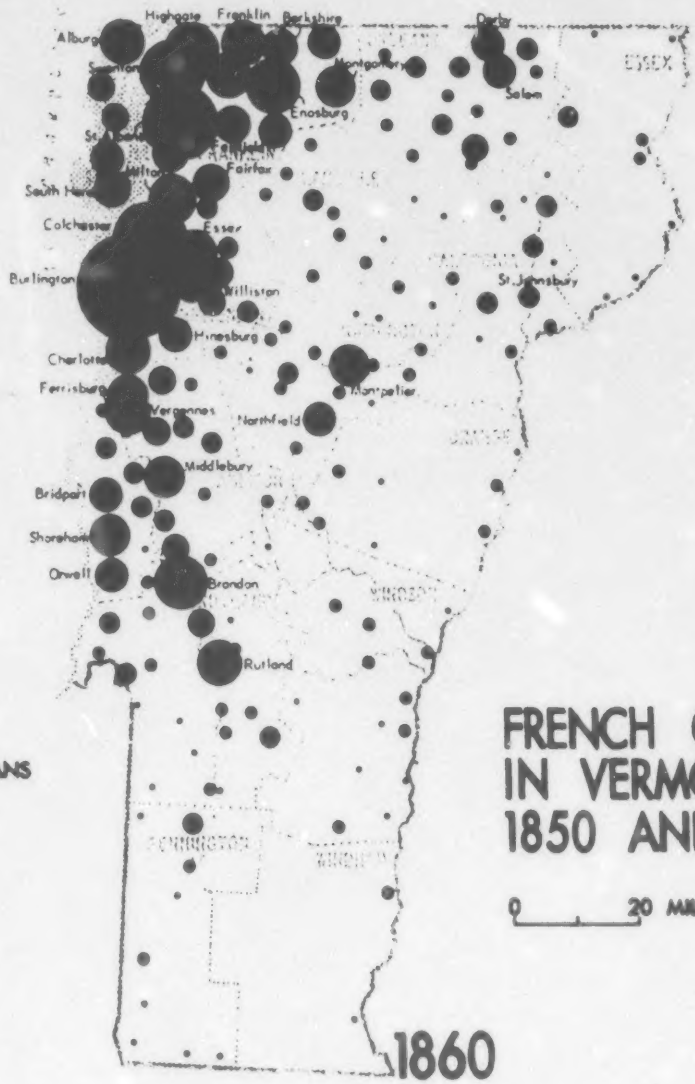


NUMBER OF FRENCH CANADIANS

1464 –
850 –
450 –
250 –
50 –

DATA COMPILED, LOCATED, AND IDENTIFIED BY TOWNS.
SOURCE: U.S. MANUSCRIPT CENSUS



FRENCH CANADIANS IN VERMONT 1850 AND 1860

0 20 MILES

TABLE 2
FRENCH-CANADIAN LABOR FORCE IN SELECTED VERMONT TOWNS, 1860

	Total Labor Force	Percentage Employed As: Farmers and Farm Laborers	Laborers	Tradesmen	Servants and Domestics
Burlington	402	9.2	36.6	34.8	4.0
Colchester	252	13.1	40.1	8.7	2.4
St. Albans	175	31.4	36.0	25.1	4.0
Swanton	137	33.6	40.8	13.9	8.8
Enosburg	125	40.1	31.2	12.8	10.4
Brandon	122	13.1	57.4	15.6	9.8
Highgate	118	60.2	17.0	5.1	16.1
Shoreham	102	60.8	1.0	16.7	20.6
Rutland	101	32.7	21.8	31.7	3.0
Franklin	94	71.3	0.0	5.3	20.2

Source: Compiled from U. S. manuscript census, 1860.

where in the state the migrants generally were few in number and widely scattered. In only four towns, Brandon, Montpelier, Derby, and Rutland, did the French-Canadian population exceed one hundred persons.

The Changing Pattern of Settlement, 1850-1860. During the eighteen-fifties the French-Canadian population recorded a substantial 40 per cent increase and numbered 16,985 persons at the time of the 1860 census enumeration. A little more than one-half of this growth likely was accounted for by natural increase. If we can assume an annual rate of natural reproduction of twenty per thousand, then a net gain from migration of about 2,200 persons was experienced. The larger share undoubtedly arrived directly from Quebec but an examination of the birthplaces of the children as recorded in the manuscript census indicates that a goodly number had moved in from other states, especially New York. It is of interest to note that but for the French-Canadian immigration of this decade, Vermont would have registered a decline in its total population.

It is clear that during the eighteen-fifties Vermont had lost her position as the principal destination in New England for the *canadien* migrant. With the expansion of railway facilities between Quebec and the United States the immigrants, though still relatively few in number, began to bypass the state in favor of the cities and towns of the south, where employment (particularly in the manufacturing sector), was more abundant. Whereas Vermont had contained about 60 per cent of New England's French Canadians at the beginning of the decade, by 1860 the percentage had fallen to 43 per cent.

An examination of Table 1 and a comparison of the maps in Figure 1 suggest the degree of population change and the modest trend toward a more dispersed pattern of distribution which was experienced between 1850 and 1860. Not so clearly revealed was the experience in forty-seven towns where a decline in numbers was observed. This reflects the transient nature of so many of the migrants—a characteristic which was to earn the French Canadians a long standing adverse reputation throughout New England.

While many French-Canadian settlements in Orleans, Rutland, and Washington counties were recording noteworthy expansion, it must be emphasized that developments during the decade tended largely to reinforce those patterns already established by 1850. Thus the four-county region bordering Lake Champlain, containing more than 73 per cent of the state's French Canadians in 1860, retained its pre-eminence. With only a few exceptions, the major *canadien* communities remained concentrated here. Burlington, with close to 1,500 French Canadians, was by far the dominant center both in Vermont and in the whole of New England.

Compared with most other areas of the state, the towns of western Vermont offered the immigrants not only easy accessibility but also a greater number and variety of employment opportunities. Here, as elsewhere, French Canadians found jobs most easily in the lower grade occupations which native workers sought to avoid. This is illustrated in Table 2, compiled from the manuscript census, which presents a generalized breakdown of the labor force for selected towns.

In the majority of towns the largest number of French-Canadian workers were listed simply under the vague category of laborers. Most found casual employment as day laborers while others were hired as brickmakers, wood choppers and quarry workers. Large numbers were engaged in agriculture, a few apparently operating their own farms, but the majority consisted of hired farm laborers. Many single migrants, especially women, received ready employment as domestics and servants. Somewhat surprising is the extent to which the *canadiens* were found as tradesmen of one type or another. French-Canadian carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, shoemakers, and painters were especially numerous in those towns which contained more urbanized communities. With manufacturing limited in Vermont, few French Canadians were recorded holding factory jobs. One significant exception was Colchester where seventy-six were employed in a textile mill in the village of Winooski.

By and large the French Canadians had migrated to improve their economic position and a few achieved considerable success. Charles Lafountain, a merchant in Winooski, for example, reported to the census marshal in 1860 real and personal property to the value of $ 22,700 while Francis Laclare, another merchant in the same village, claimed an estate of $ 19,000. These, however, were exceptional cases and for the most part the mass of the French Canadians remained relatively poor.

Conclusion. Using the manuscript census as a data source, this paper has presented new information and analysis of the French-Canadian settlement pattern in Vermont between 1850 and 1860. A similar approach could be applied to the study of French Canadians (or English Canadians for that matter) in the remainder of New England as well as in other parts of the United States. Furthermore, the massive quantity and variety of detailed data buried in the pages of the manuscript census suggest a host of other profitable uses to which it could be put in illuminating the historical geography of nineteenth century America.

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THE "SENTINELLE" REVISITED

*Richard S. Sorrell's article, based on his doctoral dissertation, presents a scholarly analysis of the famous «*Sentinelle *affair.» He uses contemporary sociological concepts as analytical tools and he situates the dissension within the ethnic group in the context of the social history of the United States in the 1920's. In the process, Sorrell graphically describes the major ingredients of the controversy, which he sees as the French-Canadian heritage, the American experience and the Woonsocket milieu. It can be said that this topic, involving as it does the fundamental issues of ethnic and religious rights along with the authority of the hierarchies within the Church, has not yet been laid to rest. Dissension still exists among some Franco-American groups as to the import and impact of the* Sentinelle *question on Franco-American survival and self-concept. Some from within the group feel strongly that this is* THE *event which hastened the weakening and gradual assimilation of the French into the English-speaking New England society of the twentieth century, although scholars like Bessie Bloom Wessel place great importance on intermarriages in that respect. Nevertheless, a clear understanding of the Franco-Americans rests in part on the study and analysis of their religious convictions and conflicts. There is no denying that the «*Sentinelle *affair» relates directly to that concern.*

THE SENTINELLE AFFAIR (1924-1929): RELIGIOUS AND MILITANT SURVIVANCE IN WOONSOCKET, RHODE ISLAND

by

Richard S. Sorrell

The struggle is dead only for those who are dead—Elphège Daignault, leader of *Sentinelles*.

We are Catholics for salvation, but French Canadians only by accident of birth—J. Albert Foisy, moderate Franco-American opposed to Daignault.

It is not the blood in one's veins that makes the Catholic, but it is belief in a doctrine and submission—Bishop William Hickey of Providence, archenemy of *Sentinelles*.

The *Sentinelle* affair deserves study not merely because it happened, even though the tale contains its share of dramatic incidents. Such drama, considered in isolation, might be but a «tempest in a teapot.» The affair's claim for attention derives from the interrelationship of *Sentinellism* with related topics: Franco-Americans as an ethnic group, Woonsocket as a community, and the question of militant *survivance*. The history of both Canada and the United States reveals many serious questions about topics such as ethnicity, nationalism, assimilation, and religion. These are often handled in an overly simplified fashion, sometimes approaching an «Either-or» syndrome (either a person is viewed as an immigrant dominated by national background and homeland religion, or seen as becoming assimilated into a new nationalism and differing religious ways). By taking a look at such questions within a specific context, it is possible to examine them more deeply and see that they possess an undreamed-of complexity. Here the specific context is French Canadian immigrants and their descendants in Woonsocket, Rhode Island, who became immersed during the 1920s in the controversial *Sentinelle* affair. What is conventionally thought to be a relatively simple model of immigration-assimilation becomes an intricate interaction of assimilation, religion, and nationalism, proceeding on multiple interwoven levels.

In the years following World War I a group of Franco-Americans in New England, most notably in Woonsocket, became increasingly militant concerning the state of their ethnic and religious survival. These first and second generation French Canadian immigrants feared that their *survivance*—which their ancestors in Quebec had fought so long to attain and maintain—was being threatened.[1] Led by Elphège Daignault of Woonsocket, these militant Franco-Americans called themselves *Sentinelles*, believing that they had to be constantly «on the watch» for assimilationist dangers. They increasingly identified the principal «Americanizing» threat to be the Irish hierarchy of the Catholic church. They felt that the Irish took advantage of their dominant position within the church by attempting to force later-arriving Catholic immigrant groups, who unlike the Irish did not speak English, to quickly assimilate and Americanize themselves. Daignault *et al.* also distrusted increasing centralization of diocesan activities, which they felt threatened the autonomy and influence of individual Franco-American

parishes. *Sentinelles* viewed both of these policies as part of a long-standing desire on the part of the hierarchy to eliminate all vestiges of «national» parishes.

By 1924 the battle had begun in earnest, as Daignault and his followers established their newspaper, *La Sentinelle*, in Woonsocket and began to gather support in other Franco-American centers in New England. They refused to contribute to diocesan fund drives of Bishop William Hickey, particularly for the new Catholic high school in Woonsocket, Mount St. Charles. Although this *collège* had been built primarily for the use of Franco-American youth, *Sentinelles* claimed that it was being used by Hickey, an Irish-American, to further assimilationist goals. *Sentinelles* wanted a school solely for Franco-Americans, with *survivance* goals and French as the dominant language of instruction. Hickey envisaged an institution where Franco-Americans, although in the majority, would mingle with other groups and, through a bilingual atmosphere, combine a respect for their heritage with preparation for life in an American environment. What one considered a virtue, the other saw as a fault.

Absolute equality of French and English was a minimum demand of *Sentinelles*. Mount St. Charles was not the unilingual product of assimilationist fanatics. There was a genuine attempt to provide for teaching and usage of French. However there is little doubt that English dominated both inside and outside the classroom. A great majority of Mount St. Charles' students were Franco-American. The problem was that *Sentinelles* wanted exclusivity rather than a majority.

Sentinelles also thought of Mount St. Charles as a diocesan institution which the bishop was using to further centralization at the expense of the individual parish. Franco-Americans could never really control the destiny of the school since it did not belong to a Franco-American parish. Whether or not the school was bilingual at any given time was unimportant, since *Sentinelles* saw the bishop as free to Anglicize it whenever he pleased. In addition they argued that the diocese should discontinue its practice of assessing each parish an obligatory quota in fund drives, and they demanded that the French language have at least an equal footing with English in all Franco-American parish schools.[2]

Tactics of *Sentinelles* became increasingly aggressive from 1924-1927. They petitioned the Pope in an attempt to halt the accepted practice by which each diocese took a percentage of its parishes' funds. When the Pope backed Bishop Hickey, *Sentinelles* instituted a civil suit and began a boycott of all contributions to the Church, including pew rent.

The struggle in Woonsocket reached its apex in 1927-1928. On one Sunday Holy Family parish priests refused entry to anyone who would not pay pew rent, and they used Woonsocket city police to supervise this process. The curé of St. Louis parish was suspended and then dismissed by the bishop, for supposed *Sentinelle* leanings. An aged *Sentinelle* was refused last rites by the church until he repented, with opponents and advocates of *Sentinellism* keeping a continuous watch over his death bed. Both sides claimed victory after his death, *Sentinellistes* saying he had not repented and opponents insisting he did. *Sentinelles* charged that some Franco-American parish priests refused confession and communion to known leaders of the movement who were not paying pew rent. These and other incidents resulted in much acrimonious name-calling and occasional physical violence. Both priests and laity were participants, while the battleground included pulpit, confessional, and

communion rail. *La Sentinelle* attacked Bishop Hickey as a «Judas,» and those Franco-American priests who supported him as «traitors» to their race. One of these priests responded by labeling *Sentinelles* as «jackasses, pigs and drunkards.» *La Tribune*, Woonsocket organ of those Franco-Americans who opposed *Sentinellism*, called Daignault and his followers «Satanic Bolsheviks» and «Sacco-Vanzetti anarchists.»

For over a year Daignault attracted a large and vociferous Franco-American following. They attended his public protest meetings, contributed to fund raising drives, and boycotted Masses in their home parishes while attending a parish in a nearby town headed by a Franco-American priest friendly to *Sentinellism*. However the culmination came in April 1928 when the Pope excommunicated all *Sentinelles* who signed the civil suit. This dramatic event chimed the death knell of the movement. Even militantly rebellious Franco-Americans like Daignault, who were caustic critics of some of Catholicism's practices, felt a profound fear when confronted with the spectre of being cast out from their church. Within a year all had repented and excommunications were lifted.

This five year battle (1924-1929) greatly agitated Franco-Americans and other Catholics in Woonsocket, as well as elsewhere in Rhode Island and New England. The struggle was almost entirely Catholic, involving conflict between Franco-Americans and a predominantly Irish church hierarchy. A further intriguing aspect is the split which the affair caused within Woonsocket's Franco-American community. Moderates, including almost all parish priests and most lay community leaders, insisted that loyalty to the church overrode ethnic concerns, and opposed both tactics and goals of *Sentinelles*. During the most troubled time (1927-1928), these two battled so violently that the conflict assumed internecine and self-destructive qualities, heightening its drama and emotional impact. Partially because of *Sentinellism's* bitterly fratricidal character *Sentinelles* failed to enlist the lasting support of a majority of Woonsocket's Franco-Americans, and thus were doomed to failure. In the long run, *Sentinellism* probably had a deleterious effect both on *survivance* and on the overall standing of Franco-Americans in New England.

The *Sentinelle* affair challenges some traditional assumptions about the ethnic life of America's white immigrant nationalities, and calls forth the image of a bubbling cauldron. Was the path towards acculturation and assimilation as straight or unhindered as is sometimes assumed? For those who feel that immigrant groups constituted homogeneous entities, or that they at least strove to present the image of a united front to the outside world, the intensity of infighting among Franco-Americans during the *Sentinelle* affair proves instructive. Beliefs, tactics, and goals of *Sentinelle* leaders indicate the prevalence of militance, often fiercely reactionary, among some white ethnics. The vehemence of French Canadian-Irish hostility is also particularly evident. A study of *Sentinellism* adds an historical dimension to the «power» reawakenings of white ethnic groups in the 1970s. While this may deflate some of the current romanticizing about such «unmeltables,» it also demonstrates the confining nature of the traditional framework for immigrant studies.

Sentinellism's basic claim for recognition lies in its restructuring of a «model» of the immigrant experience. Most historical or sociological models of ethnicity, whether «Anglo-conformity,» «melting pot,» «cultural pluralism,» «structural pluralism,» or «acculturation,» possess a relative simplicity and wholeness of explanation.[3] Examination shows that, at least in the case of Franco-Americans in Woonsocket during the 1920s,

a simple model must give way to complex interaction. The proper image might be that of a lasagna-like folding together of many layers, in which all interact but each retains something of its distinctiveness.

The first layer of experience affecting Franco-Americans in the *Sentinelle* affair consists of their French Canadian heritage, with its volatile and intricate mix of nationalism and religion. This heritage was not buried in antiquity, long-lost and dead, but was alive and raging in the Quebec homeland, mere hundreds of miles away. During the *Sentinelle* years *Québécois* battled among themselves and against outsiders over issues similar to those contained within the *Sentinelle* dispute. The «Francos» were also «Americans,» thus adding a second layer of American experience on top of the French Canadian inheritance. To understand the motives and actions of both those Franco-Americans who became *Sentinelles* and those who opposed the movement, one must comprehend the legacy of their immigration process, which added threats of assimilation and nativism in a new environment. The religious problem, including the role of Franco-Americans within the Catholic church and the place of the church in society, became more complicated in the United States. A third layer of density is the specific locale in which the affair took place, that is, the effect which the industrial, religious, and ethnic milieu of Woonsocket had on the participants.

The «French connection,» both Canadian and American, is the basic key to an understanding of the *Sentinelle* affair. Those Franco-Americans involved in the dispute were shaped by a French Canadian heritage made more immediate and influential by the closeness of the Quebec homeland and the continuing intensity of the national experience there. From 1760 to the 1920s, the issue of national survival was a constant concern in a country controlled by «outsiders.» From the 1800s on, French Canadian elite were engaged in an active program of maintaining and stimulating nationalism among the masses, resisting *Anglais* encroachments while fighting among themselves over ends and means. Events of these years, from the conquest (see below) to the conscription issue of World War I (when many French Canadians resisted being drafted to fight in what they considered an *Anglais* war), shaped French Canadian national character and dominated the cultural baggage of those who emigrated to New England. Many of the attributes exhibited by Franco-Americans during the *Sentinelle* dispute can be seen as a direct extension of *Canadien* national character. The conquest refers to the British defeat of the French in the Seven Years War (1756-1763), the consequent cession of New France to England, and the two hundred years of British and English Canadian rule of French Canada which has followed. Historians have argued over the precise nature of this rule, but most agree that the trauma of being conquered and governed by «foreigners» has played a major role in producing French Canadian national characteristics listed in the next paragraph.[4]

Like their counterparts in the French Canadian elite, *Sentinelles* leaned heavily upon a traditional and often romantic view of their Quebec heritage, culminating in a virtual «cult of the past» epitomized by Quebec's motto *Je me souviens* («I remember»).[5] Daignault and his followers exhibited an extreme sense of conservative nationalism, and an obsession with national survival *(la survivance)* which is familiar to students of French Canadian history. Their sense of aloneness and enmity towards outsiders, culminating in an almost pathological insecurity, paranoia, and persecution complex, made *Sentinelles* the psychological heirs of French Canada. Those involved in the *Sentinelle* affair demonstrated further personality

traits which are linked to French Canadian character, such as pride, imprudence, and independence and lack of discipline, accompanied by a somewhat contradictory authoritarianism which could take on the messianic guise of a «search for a leader.» *Sentinelles* surely felt that they were carrying on the French Canadian national mission.

Woonsocket however was not French Canada. The *Sentinelle* affair can also instruct readers as a test case of how Franco-Americans became different from their Quebec brethren. Many Franco-American religious and lay leaders struggled long and hard in the years between the Civil War and the Great Depression as they encouraged the masses to preserve their religious, ethnic, and national heritage in this strange, new land. In many ways their exhortations proved successful. Retention of the French language, intramarriage within the nationality, the building of national parishes with accompanying schools, the creation of national societies and newspapers—all were performed diligently and persistently.

Yet the means could never entirely accomplish the desired end. Franco-Americans in New England lacked the demographic, linguistic, cultural, and religious solidarity of French Canadians in Quebec, as well as the special rights and status accorded them in Canada by law and custom. If the «melting pot» of the United States was illusionary, more in the realm of myth and symbol than a reality, so was its opposing counterpart, cultural pluralism. The vision of those liberal intellectuals during the first decades of the twentieth century, who foresaw an America «in which many nationalities would live in concert, each maintaining the flavor of its original heritage and its interest in its original homeland,» was also blurred.[6] The *Sentinelle* affair shows that if some members of a group maintained too much of an interest in their homeland and heritage, nationalities might not «live in concert.» In addition the Franco-American experience shows that, for the great majority of a nationality, cultural pluralism was unattainable and not even desired by many. In no way was assimilation of Franco-Americans complete by the 1920s, in either Woonsocket or New England as a whole, whether the criterion be cultural assimilation[7] or structural.[8] By that time however Franco-Americans, especially those who had been born in the United States, were on their way to becoming «of» America as well as «in» it, economically, politically, socially, religiously, and intellectually.

Thus in a way the *Sentinelle* dispute was like the «nova» phase of a star, a brief, final surge of light and energy before a final extinguishment. From this vantage point, Daignault *et al.* became reactionaries whose actions were the climax of a series of illusory attempts to transplant Quebec into New England. The collapse of *Sentinellism* merely reaffirmed the impossibility of this, and signalled the final triumph of moderate Franco-American leaders, who accepted the need for cultural assimilation and adaptation to American environment. Although they never articulated their desires, this was probably the preference of the mass of Franco-Americans by the 1920s, even if it ultimately spelled the end of *survivance*. Some of the *Sentinelles* may have realized this, at least subconsciously. Many of the French Canadian elite who left Quebec for New England must have had mixed feelings and a certain sense of guilt about the implication that their emigration suggested they valued economic success and a new life more than the *survivance* of Quebec. The vehemence that some displayed in attempting to transfer *survivance* to New England, evident in the *Sentinelle* affair, may have been partially an attempt to redeem themselves.

The issue of religion is as important as the «French connection,» if one is to under-

stand the deeper historical resonances of *Sentinellism*. Catholicism was not only an integral part of the participants' *Canadien* background, but also provided the basic arena within which the struggle took place. How did Catholicism affect *Sentinellism*, and vice-versa? It is impossible to comprehend the vehemence with which Franco-Americans on both sides of the dispute fought without knowing the importance of religion in their daily lives. Most of the Franco-American elite carried the concept of a providential mission with them from French Canada: past and future, heritage and destiny, were linked together by a divine union of nationalism and Catholicism. They were the pure Catholic nationality which would expand the kingdom of God and expose the false material values of Protestantism. Religion thus became a way of life, rather than just a part of life, as Catholicism became increasingly associated with nationalism in Quebec, and with conservative and even reactionary theological and social views. Daignault and his associates were heirs to this tradition, in both their incessant linking of *foi* (faith) and *langue* (language) and their penchant for «looking backward.»

But outsiders err when they picture the Catholic Church as a monolithic force, since it frequently becomes a house divided. *Sentinelles* were not pious, passive, and accepting church-goers; they were constantly in rebellion against their Catholic superiors. Was not this a rejection of their French Canadian divine mission? No, for they also inherited a somewhat contradictory religious stance from Quebec, the rebellious attitude which many parishioners exhibited towards the Catholic church hierarchy here. This hierarchy, although solidly French Canadian, was forced to take an ambivalent and vacillating stand on French Canadian nationalism. This was due partially to the Church's precarious position vis-a-vis their English rulers in the years before confederation, and in part a result of the church's fear of revolutionary nationalism. Whatever the reasons, this attitude caused some French Canadians, particularly during times of crisis like the rebellion of 1837 or the *Rouge*-Guibord affair, to voice discontent with the church hierarchy and engage in decidedly «unfaithful» acts towards them. During these battles the actions and desires of rebellious French Canadians were frequently similar to those of the *Sentinelles*. The rebellion of 1837 took place in both Lower Canada (Quebec) and Upper Canada (Ontario), and was primarily due to discontent with an unrepresentative political system. In Quebec however increasing French-English animosity was also a factor. The rebellion failed dismally in both provinces, but French Canadian nationalism in Quebec was stimulated. The *Rouge*-Guibord affair featured a group of militant and anti-clerical French Canadian nationalists (the *Rouges*) who became involved in a bitter dispute in the 1870s with church hierarchy over whether a deceased *Rouge* (Guibord) could be refused burial in a Catholic cemetery.[9]

If merging Catholicism and nationalism could become troublesome in Quebec, amalgamation of *foi* and *langue* proved even more illusive and problematical in the United States. Many religious and lay leaders who immigrated to New England carried with them the idea of the providential mission. Catholicism however as French Canadians knew it was as altered in America as was *survivance*. Franco-Americans no longer controlled the hierarchy of the church as did their counterparts in Quebec, and the status of Catholicism itself was far different. Freedom of religion meant that the church could never enjoy legal and financial advantages which accompanied its semi-established position in Quebec. There, outside of Montreal, the only thing rarer than a non-French Canadian was a Protestant. But in the United States (even in New England) Catholics were

in a distinct minority, and Franco-Americans were a minority within Catholicism. The administrative control of the church hierarchy was far tighter here than had been the case in Quebec, particularly over control of parish finances. Finally and most importantly there was the Irish «problem.» In America the Irish had gained almost exclusive control of the church hierarchy, and were hesitant to give up any of this control to later-arriving Catholic immigrant groups. So Franco-Americans were not masters of their own religious house, as they had been in Quebec. To complicate the matter further, the Irish vision of religion and nationality was far different from that of French Canadians. Instead of fusing *foi, langue*, and *moeurs* (manners and customs), the Irish church hierarchy advocated maintenance of the first at the expense of the second and third. They felt that if Catholic immigrants became «Americanized» in terms of language and customs, Protestant America would be more likely to forgive them their religion.

Many Franco-Americans, particularly militants like the *Sentinelles*, focused upon the Irish hierarchy and its supposed assimilationist plot as the sole cause of their religious difficulties. This reveals one of the greatest weaknesses of Daignault and his supporters—their failure to recognize how all of the other differences between Catholicism in Quebec and in New England foredoomed any attempt to transplant the providential mission. Moderate Franco-Americans in Woonsocket like Eugène Jalbert and Élie Vézina, who refused to adopt the conspiratorial framework of Daignault, realized the need for adaptation to realities of the religious situation in their new land. Jalbert and Vézina were both officers of the Union St.-Jean-Baptiste, Franco-American national fraternal and mutual benefit society whose headquarters were in Woonsocket. The Union was the center of opposition to *Sentinellism* among moderate Franco-Americans.

Recognition gaps in the religious vision of *Sentinelles* should not conceal the fact that they did raise some important questions concerning the nature and functioning of American Catholicism. Two of these dealt with ends, while one hinged on means. What was to be the role of national minorities within the church in the United States, and how was one to reconcile nationality and religion? Daignault and company felt that nationalities—specifically their own—should have a much larger role, including increased emphasis on mother tongue, national parishes, schools, priests, and bishops. Some went so far as implying that if nationality and religion conflicted, nationality should take precedence. The church hierarchy and moderate Franco-Americans who supported them agreed that nationalities had a place within American Catholicism, but ethnic concerns had to be subordinated to the common goal of all Catholics--preservation of religion. Moderate Franco-Americans insisted that this did not mean extermination of national parishes, and church leaders agreed. The years after the *Sentinelle* affair however have shown the correctness of Daignault's concern, for the importance of nationalities and their parishes has steadily decreased. Yet Daignault was probably right for the wrong reasons. This decrease has been primarily due to broader trends such as weakening of immigrant-ethnic ties, rather than the result of active policies on the part of the church. The war was lost even if Daignault had won his battle, since the end result would ultimately have been the same. Of course Franco-Americans were not the only Catholic immigrants to come into conflict with the Irish hierarchy. Italian, Polish and other Eastern European nationalities had similar experiences and disputes concerning the role of national minorities within American Catholicism.[10]

The second broad religious question asked by the *Sentinelles* was how much con-

trol could the diocese exert over individual parish affairs? They often contended that this was their main concern, particularly when they were afraid of being labeled «un-American» for pushing the nationality issue too far. It is true that the obligatory nature of diocesan fund drives was one of Daignault's pet hates, but it is obvious that this was closely related to the nationality issue. Daignault opposed the drives primarily because they threatened the financial independence of the national parish and because the money raised was to be spent on diocesan schools and charitable institutions, in which Daignault feared *survivance* would be weakened. But the diocesan control issue was important on its own, especially in the United States where a long tradition of individualism, localism, states' rights, and fear of a centralizing government as tyrannical, might lead one to believe that Daignault had struck a sympathetic chord. However *Sentinelles* again were trying to oppose inevitable waves of both history and the future. The Catholic church had always been run on the principle of hierarchical centralization, with the authority and discipline devolving from the top. The demands of the twentieth century could only increase such centralization especially since the diocese was superior to the parish, both in terms of a wider financial base from which to collect funds and as a larger unit within which rational planning and disbursement decisions could be made. It is ironic that in this instance *Sentinelles* were doubly doomed—placed in a dilemma in which they were damned both if they did or didn't. On the one hand they were defending traditional religious and national ideas (militant *survivance*) which were doomed in America from the start. On the other hand the American ideals for which they were supposedly fighting, such as autonomy and self-determination, stood in opposition to their traditional background of Catholicism. Such contradictory polarities between old and new undermined the *Sentinelle* cause.

The two religious issues above both deal with goals. It was possible to talk rationally about these, although the three groups involved (*Sentinelles*, moderates, hierarchy) seldom seemed capable of this. Yet the topic which generated the most heat, emotional outbursts, and vituperative name-calling concerned not any final goal but the question of tactics. How should a conflict between church authority and a dissident group be resolved? How far could dissidents go in opposition to their religious superiors, and what methods of opposition should be used? In arguing over these questions the internecine character of the *Sentinelle* affair became most evident. Moderates like Jalbert might have partly agreed, at least in theory, with some of the substantive issues which Daignault was raising. What they could not tolerate were his tactics of stridence and militance, his creating public turmoil. If one had a disagreement with church policy, one should respectfully carry the complaint up the steps of the hierarchical ladder and abide by the final decision of the church. *Sentinelles* broke all these rules. When Bishop Hickey rejected their requests, they began public agitation and turned their requests into demands. When the Pope did likewise, they went beyond the representative of God on Earth and put the matter before civil courts (unsuccessfully), committing the final blasphemy of mixing God and Caesar.

Daignault may have felt there was ample precedent within the history of American Catholicism for his militant means, and that «extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice... Moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue.»[11] However he made the fatal error of forgetting both his constituency and court. This was basically a religious dispute within the confines of Catholicism. When Daignault flaunted the traditions and rules of these confines too greatly, he ran the risk

of alienating both his Catholic peers and judges. Religious disobedience, like its civil counterpart, may occasionally prove influential in the long run, but in the short run the disobeyer must be prepared to lose the case and pay the price. Daignault *et al.* seemed to forget this.

The complexity of the lasagna-like folding of layers of experience increases, as one sees that nationality and religion are enmeshed with the problem of infighting among Franco-Americans, particularly concerning the question of militance versus moderation. Contrary to popular stereotypes, a nationality seldom forms a unified entity. Ethnic infighting among Franco-Americans, one of the most evident and perhaps most damaging characteristic of the *Sentinelle* affair, is an excellent example of this. Such divisive infighting did not begin in 1924 with the publication of *La Sentinelle*. Internecine struggles, and factional feuds and divisions were a tradition of French Canada from the days of New France, when the «independent» character of the habitant was first noticed. This intense individualism persisted after the English conquest, as distrust of *les Anglais* and retreat within the Quebec sanctuary did not spell complete solidarity within the group. French Canadians who immiggrated to New England continued bickering among themselves, so much so that some of the elite thought this was hindering *survivance*.

During the *Sentinelle* affair such fratricidal infighting concerned nationality and religion, and ultimately revolved around the issue of militance versus moderation. Again this involved a dispute over means as well as ends. While *Sentinelles* assured their supporters that the ends justified the use of militant means, their Franco-American opponents questioned not only the tactics of militance, but also whether such means would bring about the desired goals, and whether the goals themselves were desirable. *Sentinelle* militants advocated fierce preservation of an isolationist *survivance*, to be achieved by rejecting all compromise, cooperation, and adaptation. Moderates counseled adaptation to a different environment, and cooperation with «outsiders» like the Irish church hierarchy, in order to maintain as much of the national heritage as was feasible.

This militant-moderate dispute also did not begin with *Sentinellism*. It can be considered the great French Canadian debate. Quebec nationalists have fought among themselves since the early nineteenth century over whether militance or moderation was the proper way to protect *survivance*, and over how much conciliation and compromising with English Canadians could be allowed in the pursuit of this goal. This debate was carried from Quebec to New England and was a source of dispute there, both among Franco-Americans and between them and the Irish, from the 1880s to the 1920s.

From this chronological point of view, the *Sentinelle* affair can be seen as the culmination of the militant-moderate debate among Franco-Americans.[12] The irony is that while both sides were acting upon assumptions which might be considered «right» or «correct» at the time of the affair, the outcome and aftermath of *Sentinellism* demonstrated that both militants and moderates were in the final analysis «wrong.» The *Sentinelles* were «right» in their perception that Franco-Americans were slipping away from their national culture and religion. However moderate Franco-Americans were also «right» in declaring that militancy would be counter-productive and would bring reaction. But in the long run they were both «wrong» since French Canadian *survivance* could not be preserved outside of the Quebec homeland, regardless of whether militance or moderation were

followed. Given the inevitability of failure, maybe it was the *Sentinelles* who hewed closer to the national line. Did they really care if they won or lost, or did they see themselves as the noble but ill-fated pursuers of a lost cause, thus continuing the French Canadian tradition of lionizing and mythologizing martyrs? Santayana has defined a fanatic as one who redoubles his efforts once he has forgotten his goal. If *Sentinelles* were guilty of fanaticism at times, was it that they lost sight of their goal, or that the fight itself was the hidden goal?

The final «contour of the landscape» illuminated by events of the *Sentinelle* affair involves the influence of the environment which provided the backdrop—the specific locale of Woonsocket and the general setting of American culture. The unique nature of Woonsocket must have conditioned the struggle. It is a small city (about 50,000 people), whose population, economic and social growth stopped in the 1920s. In examining the influence of Woonsocket, the image of an enclosed room or compartment comes to mind. This was a town where the mill, the immigrant, the Catholic, and the Franco-American dominated. Each of these affected the outlook of Franco-Americans living there, ultimately producing an insulating or «closeting» effect.

Textile mills gave Woonsocket its drab physical appearance and its working class environment, where a hard day's labor dominated all else. For workers who could afford to save little money, who had little chance of occupational mobility, and whose lives were oriented around mill and tenements, the electrical atmosphere of *Sentinellism* (with its charges and counter-charges, dramatic events, meetings, and rallies) must have been a welcome diversion from everyday drudgery. Since 1890 immigrants and their children had made up more than four-fifths of Woonsocket's population, making the city far more foreign than «Old American» in the 1920s. The same ratio applied to religion, with Roman Catholics being the dominant group. Given these figures, is it surprising that «natives,» the Protestant Yankees, were little more than interested onlookers during the great battle of the 1920s?

Franco-Americans in Woonsocket could derive a certain security from knowing that the great majority of their fellow citizens were both immigrants (first or second generation) and Catholics. However many other cities in New England were in a similar situation. The uniqueness of Woonsocket came from the fact that Franco-Americans by themselves were in a majority. From 1895 until after 1930 the first and second generation representatives of one ethnic group were a numerical majority there, a situation which was seldom duplicated elsewhere in the United States. If all generations are counted (third and beyond), 70 percent (36,000) of Woonsocket's population was Franco-American by 1930. This made the city the «Quebec of New England,» both in terms of percentage of population which was Franco-American and total number of Franco-Americans. The ethnic group's political, economic, and social position was nowhere as secure as was their demographic situation. However their unqualified demographic domination, and concomitant insularity, must have made many feel quite secure within the confines of the city. Such feelings may have helped give *Sentinelle* leaders the inner confidence to attempt their rebellion, and also may partially explain why moderate and militant Franco-Americans fought so unreservedly with each other within the city. They had little reason to fear serious censure and reprisals from Woonsocket's non-Franco-American population, which had minority status.

But Woonsocket was not a microcosm of the world. Outside the boundaries of the

city, Franco-Americans were in a minority in New England, in the American Catholic church, and in the United States. This incongruity, between dominance in Woonsocket and realization of a different world outside, may have stimulated tensions which *Sentinelles* felt, resulting in revolt.

The intensity of nativistic feelings directed towards immigrants to the United States, particularly during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, has been discussed frequently by American historians. French Canadians suffered from Yankee and Protestant nativism in New England before 1900, but such sentiments declined from that time on. During the *Sentinelle* affair itself this classical variant of nativism looms insignificant when compared to the vast amount of Irish-Franco-American conflict within American Catholicism. Thus one can see the *Sentinelle* affair as an indication that the traditional Yankee-immigrant, Protestant-Catholic, and rural-urban dichotomies of nativism may have been overstressed, at the expense of intra-ethnic, intra-religious, and intra-urban disputes.

However in the years immediately preceding the beginning of *Sentinellism*, there was an outbreak of nativism which started as anti-German feelings during World War I and broadened to include «100 percent Americanism» directed at all immigrants during and after the war. In Rhode Island this was reflected in the Peck bill, which advocated close state supervision of parochial schools, and limitation of foreign language teaching in such schools. The Peck bill was passed by the state legislature in 1922. It was never enforced and was repealed in 1925, partially because of adamant complaints from Franco-American leaders in Rhode Island.[13] Yet such attitudes and actions put Franco-Americans on the defensive, even in ethnic strongholds like Woonsocket, and made them more strident in defense of their culture. Such strident defensiveness could easily become militantly aggressive, as was the case with *Sentinelles*.

The 100 percent Americanism movement was part of the great «red scare» which formed the prologue to the 1920s. Although it is incorrect to view this decade in isolation, either as an aberrationist interlude (the «roaring twenties») or as a time of revolutionary changes (overlooking the fact that many of the changes became noticeable in the 1920s), it does indisputably form a distinct time-period which shaped the consciousness of those participating actively or vicariously in the *Sentinelle* affair. The hoopla and sensationalism of the 1920s has often been overemphasized, but the years did contain much melodrama and emotionalism, such as spectacular jury trials, new amusements and fads, and changing morals and manners reflected in new life styles. A majority of the American populace may not have participated extensively in such activities, but an increasingly influential middle class did. The mass media such as newspapers, radio, and movies played a large role in publicizing the above events.

The excitement and drama of the *Sentinelle* crisis, at times manufactured and at times real, but always magnified by extensive New England newspaper coverage, mark this affair as symptomatic of the 1920s. Leaders on both sides of the dispute were middle class, which was not new in American history, but the enormous interest which they generated among Franco-Americans and others both in Woonsocket and throughout New England (as measured by newspaper readership, attendance at rallies, banquets, and meetings) reflects the tenor of the 1920s. Daily work lives of Woonsocket residents might still have been drab and dull, but there were increasing opportunities for entertainment.

Yet any serious study of the 1920s reveals tension and conflict, as well as sensationalism and frivolity. Whether it involved nativism as in the red scare and the Sacco-Vanzetti trial, fundamentalism as in the Ku Klux Klan and the Scopes «monkey» trial, or generational and sex disputes over the new roles of youth and women, the 1920s were full of dissension. Such strife often resulted from a clash between old and new—a cultural lag which accelerated with the popularization of technological developments such as the automobile, radio, and movies. The *Sentinelle* affair featured such tension resulting from a cultural lag conflict between old and new. Franco-Americans caught in dispute, both militant and moderate, were disturbed and alarmed about the changing face of their nationality, as adaptation to life in America began to overshadow homeland roots. Such adaptation would have been particularly disturbing in the 1920s, as Franco-American youths experienced new technological and cultural changes.

Friction arising from conflict between old values and new realities was also evident in the Catholic church's role in *Sentinellism*. Franco-American militants were unable to grasp the fact that the church in America could never be the same as it was in Quebec, while the Irish church hierarchy seemed unable to adapt to the needs of its «new immigrant» parishioners. Disturbed by a changing United States which was altering their lives, participants in the *Sentinelle* affair (militant, moderate, and church hierarchy) too often substituted emotions for reasoning. Thus they prolonged and complicated the struggle rather than clarifying it.

In the final analysis there is no one «key» to understanding the *Sentinelle* affair, but many different vantage points from which to view its significance. This article has dealt with such larger significances of an event which is primarily local history. The rationale for such an attempt is well put by Boyer and Nissenbaum in their study of the social origins of Salem witchcraft trials:

> We have . . . exploited the focal events . . . as a stranger might make use of a lightning flash in the night: better to observe the contours of the landscape which it chances to illuminate . . . What we have been attempting . . . is to convey something of the deeper historical resonances of our story while still respecting its uniqueness.[14]

Notes

1. It is difficult to explain briefly a word freighted with meaning in the French Canadian lexicon. *Survivance* refers to the belief of French Canadians that they had (and have) a divine mission to preserve their national «race» and religion against Anglo-Saxon inroads, by insuring the survival and transmission of their native language, faith, and customs.
   Footnotes will be confined to explanatory material and citations for quotations. For complete documentation of points made here, refer to the author's unpublished Ph.D. dissertation «The Sentinelle Affair (1924-1929) and Militant *Survivance:* The Franco-American Experience in Woonsocket, Rhode Island» (State University of N.Y. at Buffalo, 1975). Major primary sources on which dissertation and article are based include French and English language newspapers in Woonsocket and throughout New England (especially *La Tribune* and *La Sentinelle,* Woonsocket organs of opposing sides in the dispute); archival collections of the Union St.-Jean-Baptiste (Franco-American national society) and Franco-American national parishes in Woonsocket; United States census reports; Rhode Island state and Woonsocket city public documents; personal interviews with Woonsocket residents of the 1920s; and two contemporary «histories» written by opposing participants in the affair—Elphège Daignault, *Le Vrai Mouvement Sentinelliste en Nouvelle Angleterre, 1923-1929* (Montreal, 1936) and J. Albert Foisy, *The Sentinellist Agitation in New England, 1925-1928* (Providence, 1930). Most relevant secondary studies are Robert Rumilly, *Histoire des Franco-Américains* (Montreal, 1958) 364-459 and Helene Forget, «L'Agitation Sentinelliste au Rhode Island (1924-1929)» (M.A. thesis, Univ. de Montréal, 1953).

2. Sorrell, 198-202.

3. Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion and National Origins* (New York, 1964) passim, especially 85-86, for a development of these theories.

4. Cameron Nish, ed., *The French Canadians, 1759-1766: Conquered? Half-Conquered? Liberated?* (Toronto, 1966).

5. Mason Wade, *The French Canadians, 1760-1967* (Toronto, 1968) 1: 1.

6. Gordon, 141.

7. Change of cultural patterns to those of the host society.

8. Large scale entrance, on a primary group level, into cliques, clubs, and institutions of the host society, including intermarriage. Gordon, 71.

9. Wade, ch. 4 and 347-359.

10. Peter W. Bardaglio, «Italian Immigrants and the Catholic Church in Providence, 1890-1930.» *Rhode Island History* 34: 2 (May 1975), 47-57. Recent monographs include Jay Dolan's *The Immigrant Churches: New York's Irish and German Catholics, 1815-1865* (Baltimore, 1975). Silvano Tomasi's *Piety and Power: The Role of Italian Parishes in the New York Metropolitan Area, 1880-1930* (New York, 1975). Victor Greene's *For God and Country: The Rise of Polish and Lithuanian Ethnic Consciousness in America, 1860-1910* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1975), and Richard Linkh's *American Catholicism and European Immigrants (1900-1924)* (New York, 1975).

11. The quote is not Daignault's, of course, but Barry Goldwater's during his acceptance speech at the 1964 Republican national convention. Franklin L. Burdette, *The Republican Party: A Short History* (New York, 1972), 115.

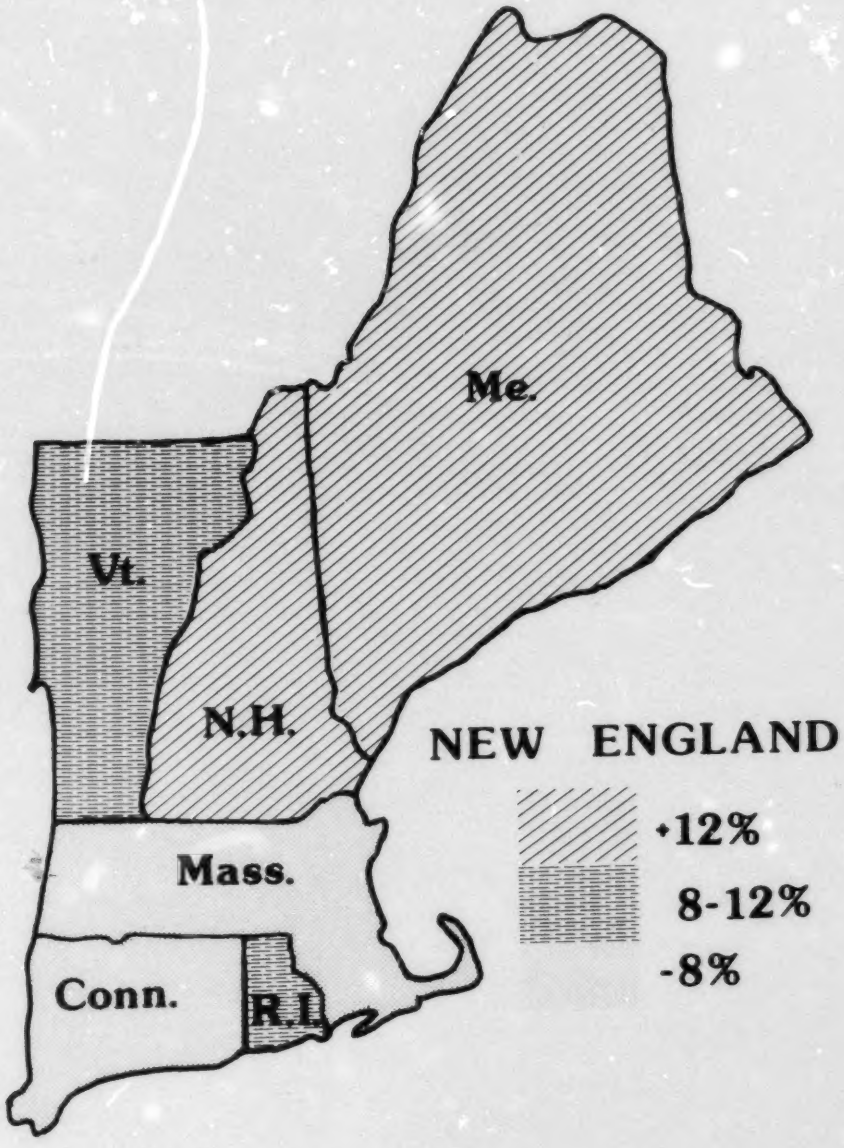
12. But not among *Québécois* where the dispute continued to rage and still does today, with the *séparatiste* movement representing the militants, and moderate French Canadians advocating a host of less extreme solutions. Ramsay Cook, *Canada and the French Canadian Question* (Toronto, 1967).

13. Sorrell, 163-169; Rumilly, 335-350.

14. Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum, *Salem Possessed: The Social Origins of Witchcraft* (Cambridge, Mass., 1974), xii and 179.

Appendix

FRENCH MOTHER-TONGUE POPULATION IN NEW ENGLAND–1970



The above map shows the percentage of French mother-tongue population in the six New England states according to the 1970 census figures from the U.S. Bureau of Census, as compiled by Madeleine Giguère.

RESEARCH NOTES: FRANCO-AMERICANS IN NEW ENGLAND

by

Richard S. Sorrell

Many Americans confuse French and French Canadian as ethnic backgrounds, a trait which does not endear them to either nationality. The term «Franco-American» includes both French and French Canadian immigrants to the United States. While this could lead to difficulties when one wishes to speak merely of French Canadians, this is mitigated by a demographic fact—immigration to the United States from French Canada has been much greater than from France. From colonial times until 1970 France sent 700,000 immigrants, more than half of whom arrived before 1790. During those same years Canada sent almost 4,000,000 immigrants, at least one-third of whom were French Canadian. Almost all of the French Canadians came after the Civil War, and most settled in New England. Thus while at least two out of three «Franco-Americans» will be of French Canadian ancestry, the ratio is much higher in New England industrial communities peopled mainly after the Civil War.

In 1930 there were 1,106,000 people of French Canadian stock in the United States, one-third immigrants and two-thirds children of immigrants. Today it is estimated that if all generations are included, the total number of Franco-Americans with some Canadian ancestry may be as high as 5,000,000. Before the 1810's only a few thousand came, the bulk during the Acadian expulsion from Canada by the British in 1755, during the American Revolution when those who took sides with the invading Americans were forced to flee, and after the failure of the 1837 Rebellion in Lower Canada. It was not until the 1840's and 1850's that *la fièvre aux États-Unis* began in earnest, with thousands leaving Quebec primarily for economic reasons. The real flood came after the Civil War, with over 500,000 emigrating between 1865 and 1890. After a lull of a few years, another mass migration of slightly less proportions (around 500,000) took place between 1905 and 1929. Quota laws passed during the 1920's in the United States originally did not apply to French Canadians, since they were residents of the Western Hemisphere. However, the Great Depression effectively ended their era of large-scale emigration.

When an American thinks about French influences in his country, the first image which comes to mind is that of New Orleans and Louisiana. French language and culture are still evident there, the result of rule by France which existed intermittently until 1803. However few Franco-Americans of Canadian origin live there. Certain parts of the Midwest, particularly Michigan, have fairly large numbers of Franco-Americans, remnants of the fur trade and lumber industries. In 1930 New York ranked fourth among states in total number of those of French Canadian stock, primarily concentrated along the nortern border where New York meets Quebec. But for the real center

of Franco-Americans, one must look to New England. Seventy-one percent of those born in French Canada and living in the United States in 1930 resided in one of the six New England states. The greatest number lived in Massachusetts, but New Hampshire had the highest concentration in terms of percentage of the total population (nearly one-quarter of the state's people were of either French Canadian birth or parentage).

The bibliographical essay which follows lists the most important sources on Franco-Americans. The bibliography is divided into three categories: (1) books, (2) articles, essays, and pamphlets, and (3) unpublished dissertations and manuscripts.

(1) The first book worthy of mention is Marcus Lee Hansen's *The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples* (New Haven, Conn., 1940). It provides an historical overview of the «movement of people to an fro across the Canadian-American boundary» (p. v). As such it is not confined to French Canadians, but also includes English Canadian migration southward as well as American migration northward. Robert Rumilly's *Histoire des Franco-Américains* (Montreal, 1958) is the basic single source on the subject, providing a massive chronological narrative crammed with «facts.» However the coverage is superficial, the style disjointed, and Rumilly plays the role of advocate of *survivance* rather than objective historical observer. Leon Truesdell's *The Canadian Born in the United States* (rewritten circa 1943) provides much useful statistical information, drawn from federal census data, on first and second generation French Canadian immigrants.

Jacques Ducharme, a Franco-American, has written two books which are useful. *The Shadows of the Trees: The Story of French Canadians in New England* (N.Y., 1943) is a popular account of Franco-American life, written in a lively style. It is probably the most widely read and cited book on the subject, but suffers from lack of depth and a rambling, anecdotal style. Ducharme's *The Delusson Family: A Novel* (N.Y., 1939) is the best fictional work portraying Franco-Americans. It focuses on the emigration of a French Canadian family in the 1870's, their settlement in Holyoke, and the adjustment of the first and second generation to life in New England, concluding with a picture of Franco-American life after 1900. Ducharme is sensible on the issue of *survivance*, eschewing militance and realizing the need for slow acculturation. However his picture of a French Canadian family which retains its love of rural life, and eventullly returns to a farm, appears a bit too traditional and idealized. Also his view of city life and upward mobility is overly optimistic, as the novel contains little mention of the disorganization of urban living or the presence of nativism.

Three books written by Franco-Americans who strongly advocated *survivance* are valuable, not so much as historical studies but as primary sources which give an insight into the Franco-American elite's attitude towards ethnic survival. Father E. Hamon's *Les Canadiens-Français de la Nouvelle Angleterre* (Quebec, 1891) is the earliest standard source, written by a Jesuit. Poorly organized and in no way objective, still it is an interesting mélange of material on the economic condition of Franco-Americans and their *survivance*. It includes statistics on Franco-American occupations and parishes in various cities and states. Josephat Benoit, later to be mayor of Manchester, wrote *L'Ame Franco-Américaine* in 1935 (Montreal). In a series of impassioned essays he gives the Franco-American elite's view of the race's «soul» as well as causes of and obstacles to *survivance*. The year after Benoit's book, the Association Canado-Américaine published *Les Franco-Américains Peints Par Eux-*

Mêmes (Montreal, 1936). This was a reprinting of a series of radio broadcasts by prominent Franco-Americans. They surveyed historical trends and the present status of *survivance*, outlined assimilationist dangers, and discussed *«la situation actuelle»* in each state of New England.

(2) Those seeking more succinct summaries in journal articles should begin with Iris Saunders Podea, «Quebec to 'Little Canada': The Coming of the French Canadians to New England in the Nineteenth Century,» *New England Quarterly*, 23 (Sept. 1950), pp. 365-380. This provides an historical summary of the migration process of Franco-Americans, and their ethnic-acculturation experiences in New England. Mason Wade, authority on the history of French Canada, has written two useful articles on Franco-Americans. «French Canadians in the United States,» [. . .] is an excellent brief look (fourteen pages) at the statistics and causes of immigration, as well as life and nativistic conflicts in New England. «The French Parish and *Survivance* in Nineteenth-Century New England,» *Catholic Historical Review*, 36 (July 1950), pp. 162-189, focuses on the founding of Franco-American national parishes from 1850-1900. It shows how such parishes were at the heart of *survivance*, and emphasizes nativist friction with Irish and Yankees.

George Theriault, a sociologist whose dissertation is mentioned below, has a helpful essay on «The Franco-Americans of New England,» in Mason Wade, ed., *Canadian Dualism: Studies of French-English Relations*. (Toronto, 1960), pp. 392-411. He synopsizes the different stages through which *survivance* has evolved from 1870-1955. The prominent English Canadian historian, A. R. M. Lower, wrote on «New France in New England,» for the *New England Quarterly*, 2 (April 1929), pp. 278-295. He surveys the status of *survivance* in New England, compares and contrasts Franco-Americans with other Catholic immigrant groups, and concludes that (as of 1929) they have the best chance of all in the struggle to maintain identity. One of the earliest scholarly looks at Franco-Americans was William MacDonald's «The French Canadians in New England,» *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 12 (April 1898), pp. 245-279. Although contemporary to the events which it describes, it is balanced and objective, and in no way a nativist «scare» article. As such it is still useful today. Among the more recent articles are three published together in the Sept.-Dec. 1964[1] Faucher's «L'émigration des Canadiens-français au XIX^{e} siècle: position du problème et perspectives,» Gilles Pacquet's «L'Émigration des Canadiens-Français vers la Nouvelle-Angleterre, 1870-1910: Prises de Vue Quantitatives,» and Leon F. Bouvier's «La Stratification Sociale Du Groupe Ethnique Canadien-Français Aux États-Unis.» These are all examples of quantitative history. The first two trace the amount and patterns of emigration from Quebec to New England by various statistical means, while the last relates the social structure of Franco-Americans to their *survivance*. All share the problem of much of the «new» quantitative history—i.e., lifeless and dull.

Donald Chaput's «Some *Repatriement* Dilemmas,» *Canadian Historical Review*, 49 (Dec. 1968), pp. 400-412, echoes Thomas Wolfe's refrain of «you can't go home again.» He describes the failure of the Franco-American elite to promote repatriation to Quebec. David B. Walker's pamphlet, *Politics and Ethnocentrism: The Case of the Franco-Americans* (Brunswick, Maine, 1961), summarizes political involvement and voting trends.

(3) Unpublished dissertations on Franco-Americans are relatively scarce, considering the size of the doctoral gristmill in

recent decades. Allen Richard Foley, «From French Canadian to Franco-American: A Study of the Immigration of the French Canadian into New England, 1650-1935» (Harvard University, 1939), remains the basic Ph.D dissertation on the history of Franco-Americans in New England. It is detached and objective, and covers all aspects of migration to and life in the United States. However it suffers from poor organization and a lack of guiding themes. Part of the problem may have been that Foley picked far too ambitious a topic in 1939, when there were few monographs available to guide him. The other most inclusive Ph.D. dissertation was also an early effort. Robert Cloutman Dexter wrote «The Habitant Transplanted: A Study of the French Canadian in New England» in 1923 for Clark University. It likewise deals encyclopedically with French Canadian migration, and their reception in and adjustment to American life. Although well written, it betrays a nativist bias against Franco-Americans.

George French Theriault's, «The Franco-Americans in a New England Community: An Experiment in Survival» (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1951), almost rivals Foley in length (Theriault is 550 pages long while Foley runs 660 pages). However Theriault's opus is a sociological community study of Franco-Americans in Nashua, New Hampshire. An excellent piece of work in the W. Lloyd Warner tradition, it also contains much historical background material on Franco-Americans in New England and French Canadians in Quebec. Ralph D. Vicero has produced what seems to be the definitive work on the demography of French Canadian migration and settlement patterns in New England, with his «Immigration of French Canadians to New England, 1840-1900: A Geographical Analysis» (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1968). He makes extensive use of manuscript federal census sheets, using name analysis when nationality is not listed.

One of the most valuable unpublished studies is not a dissertation. Herve B. Lemaire's «Franco-American Efforts on Behalf of the French Language in New England» is a manuscript produced for the Language Resources Project of Yeshiva University in 1964. As the title indicates, it concentrates on the status of the French language among Franco-Americans. However within a chronological framework, «Franco-American Origins,» «Struggles Against Assimilation,» (1880-1945), and «Adjusting to the Inevitable» (1945-the future), he also provides material on *survivance* institutions, politics, economics, and mixed marriages. Forty pages of appended tables give much data on mother tongue status, as well as the above.

The same judgment of value cannot be applied to one of the most recent studies on Franco-Americans, Dennis Royal Garff's «Heirs of New France: An Ethnic Minority in Search of Security; A Study of 'Canadien' Society and Politics in late Nineteenth Century New England and Quebec Province» (Ph.D. diss., Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, 1970). In this author's opinion it is a poor job. The meandering subtitle indicates the diffusion and lack of focus prevalent throughout. Garff claims that his purpose is to examine aspects of Franco-American *survivance*, as well as awareness of events in French Canada, as seen through the eyes of the Franco-American elite. However the result is a superficial mixture of community study (Lowell), relations between French Canadians and Franco-Americans, and broad overview of Franco-American life. Most damaging is the indication that the author did little primary or secondary research.

The reader will find that Franco-Americans constitute a relatively ignored ethnic group, especially in light of the recent reawakening of interest in White ethnic studies. Most textbooks on American immigration either omit Franco-Americans or

make only a few scattered references to them. Recent popularized studies do the same. Michael Novak's *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics* (N.Y., 1973) contains reams of praise for Poles, Italians, Greeks and Slavs, but fails to make a single mention of the Franco-Americans. LaGumina and Cavaioli comment[2] [...] that «in view of the large number of people involved, it is surprising that research concerning this group (Canadian immigrants) is not more extensive.»

There is some evidence of increased scholarly interest in Franco-Americans. For the first time in this author's memory, a convention of American historians included French Canadians when they discussed immigration history. The April 1974 gathering of the Organization of American Historians in Denver featured two sessions which made mention of French-Americans: Tamara K. Hareven's presentation of «The Laborers of Manchester, New Hampshire: The Role of Family and Ethnicity in Adjustment to Industrial Life, 1890-1940,» and Elliott Barkan's «Commuting 'Immigrants': Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, French Canadians and American Indians in the Twentieth Century.»

Notes

1. cf. issue of *Recherches Sociographiques*, 5, 277-374: Albert.
2. cf. in *The Ethnic Dimension in American Society* (Boston, 1974), 217.

THE FRANCO-AMERICANS IN COMPARISON TO OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS: AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

by

Madeleine Giguère

Wessel, Bessie Bloom. *An Ethnic Survey of Woonsocket, Rhode Island.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931; New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1970.

This earliest of the comparative studies is an ambitious attempt to document the change in ethnic groups in a community. The largest group reported on is the French-Canadian descent grouping. Technical in nature, it is nevertheless rewarding for the determined reader. Besides intermarriage data, there is information on date of entry of the various ethnic groups, size of family, language usage, and language facility among children and parents.

Anderson, E. E. *We Americans.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937.

A community study of Burlington, Vermont in the 1930's in which the principle ethnic group other than the Old Americans was the French-Canadian. For them as well as for the Irish, the Italians, the Jews and the Germans, Anderson explores how the groups are woven into the life of the city; in work, in religion, in education, in the city's social life and in intermarriage. All this, for this early Franco-American settlement without one table! The French are viewed as not sticking together, feeling inferior and ashamed of their nationality and without leaders. Of them, the author says, «As a peaceful unaggressive people, they have won to some extent the sympathy of the Yankee Group, whose social and economic position is not threatened by their advancement.»

Warner, W. Lloyd and V. O. Low. *Yankee City.* abr. ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963. See also *The Status System of a Modern Community.* Vol. II Yankee City Series, 1942.

This single volume edition of the famous Yankee City Series provides an interesting comparison of Franco-American status and mobility with other ethnic groups in Newburyport, Massachusetts over three quarters of a century. With less than 1500 persons the Franco-Americans of Newburyport in the nineteen thirties had a national parish and a parochial school as well as voluntary organizations of their own. The comparative data on stratification for all of Yankee City's ethnic groups demonstrate that the French-Canadians on the average came in as factory workers and remained there for at least two generations, but in that number of generations they had been as upwardly mobile as the previously arrived ethnic groups.

Greeley, Andrew M. *Why Can't They Be Like Us?* New York: Institute of Human Relations Press, 1969; New York: Dut-

ton, 1971.

Some of the first national data on French-Americans using modern sample survey techniques is reported in this small volume. For instance, the survey finds the French in the lowest ranks with regard to education and income, but in medium rank with regard to identification with the Democratic party and self definition as «happy». Among nine ethnic groups including three Protestant groups and the Jews, French-Americans were above the average of all groups in visiting parents, siblings and in-laws. They were highest (along with the Italians) in living in the same neighborhood as their in-laws and third in rank order of the nine groups in living in the same neighborhood as their siblings.

Abramson, Harold, J. «Ethnic Pluralism in the Central City» *Ethnic Groups in the City*. Edited by Otto Feinstein. Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Co., 1971.

This survey of eleven ethnic groups living in the center of three Connecticut cities in the mid-60's indicates that the French-Canadians were low in home ownership, college education, and income and high in affiliation with the Catholic Church, in percent blue collar workers, and in percent who feel the federal government should do more to help the poor, as compared to the ten other ethnic groups.

Greeley, Andrew M. «Ethnicity as an Influence on Behavior,» *Ethnic Groups in the City*, Edited by Otto Feinstein, Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Co., 1971.

This reporting of the same national sample survey data as in *Why Can't They Be Like Us?* includes additional data on five Catholic ethnic groups. We learn that among high school graduates who are at least the grandchildren of immigrants, the Irish and the French are the happiest, and that the Germans and the French are lowest on racism. A comparison of attributes of first and second generation and third and later generations shows the substantial declines in Democratic party affiliation, in the religious extremism index, and in the anti-Semitism index among the French as between the older and the younger generation.

Abramson, Harold J. *Ethnic Diversity in Catholic America*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1973.

Another product of the NORC studies of the sixties, this volume establishes French-Canadian descent persons as one of the five major ethnic groups within the American Catholic Church with over ten percent of the Catholic population and an estimated five million persons in the United States. A higher percentage of the French-Canadians are found in small towns and rural areas than any other Catholic ethnic group. The core of this volume deals with ethnic intermarriage but it also covers religious involvement, culture and behavior. The French-Canadians are found to have the second lowest rate of ethnic intermarriage; only the Spanish language groupings being lower, with the Italians nearly equal to the Franco's. The Lenski thesis of increased church attendance with longer residence in the United States is not confirmed for the French. The mechanism of endogamy is seen as maintaining the group's cultural style if, as in the cases of the Irish and the French-Canadians, the religious practice is integrated with a distinctive culture, the latter being a function of the intense social competition each of these groups experienced through-out their history in the homeland.

Greeley, Andrew M. «The Demography of Ethnic Identification: Part I: The Religio-Ethnic Composition and Distribution of the American Population. Part II: Educational and Economic Differences Among Religio-Ethnic Groups» in Greeley, Andrew M. *Ethnicity in the United States: A Preliminary Reconnaissance*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1974.

This composite of seven NORC surveys represents the best and the most comprehensive data currently available on the French population of the United States as a whole. Country of origin of most of the respondent's ancestors was the usual identifying question. The larger sample not only allows the presentation of data comparable to the earlier NORC data but additional information; on ethnic identification by: marital status, sex, age, region, size of place, educational level and family income. The second part of the Demography of Ethnic Identification presents comparative data for the ethnic groups on education and income with region, size of place, age and education controlled for. Thus we find that when region and size of place are held constant, French Catholics in their twenties are only about one-sixth of a year beneath the mean for all ethnic groups in education. Furthermore when region, size of place and education is accounted for, French family income for both young and old is higher than the mean of all groups. It is to be noted that only a quarter of the composite NORC sample is from New England.

Greeley, Andrew M. «Political Participation Among Ethnic Groups in the United States» in Andrew M. Greeley. *Ethnicity in the United States: A Preliminary Reconnaissance*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1974.

Of all the data presented in this volume, this political data is thought to be of highest quality by the author. It substantiates to some extent Josephat Benoit's analysis of the political behavior of the Franco-Americans. When region and social class are held constant, the French Catholics are among the three highest groups on the voting scale (participation in elections) and are highest of all groups in making contact with governmental officials. On the other hand they were least likely to join with others to solve community problems and the least likely to be involved in political campaigns. French political mobilization does not fit any of the theoretical models. It is strongly influenced by responsibility but not at all by education.

Greeley, Andrew M. *Ethnicity, Discrimination and Inequality*. Beverly Hills/London: Sage, 1976.

Based upon a composite of twelve National Opinion Research Center surveys, this monograph reports on differences in education, occupation and income for the major religious groups and for the major ethnic groups in the United States. For instance, it portrays French Catholics as having lower family income than the other major Catholic ethnic groups and the Jews but as having higher family income than most Protestant ethnic groups surveyed.

Greeley, Andrew M. *The American Catholic* New York: Basic Books, 1977.

This latest volume of Andrew Greeley's is a summary of all the research findings of the National Opinion Research Center studies of Catholics including ethnic groupings within American Catholicism. It reports on limited data from the *Inequality* publication listed above.

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